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Proceedings in the action of damages, Mr Sayre againſt Lord Rochford. [107.]

ON Friday, June 28. came on in the court of Common Pleas, before Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, an action of damages brought by Stephen Sayre, Eſq; againſt William-Henry Earl of Rochford, for an illegal ſeizure of his papers, and falſe impriſonment, on the 23d of October laſt. The damages were laid at 30,000 l.

As ſoon as the jury were ſworn, the buſineſs was opened by Serjeant Glynn; who began, by ſaying, that there were two warrants; one for the ſeizure of Mr Sayre's perſon and papers, and the other for committing him to the Tower. He then ſtated the various grounds that the plaintiff had, on which to claim damages: That he was an eminent banker, and having many friends who lodged money with him, as with a man of unimpeached credit; that the defendant's conduct ought to be capable of juſtification, or that large damages ſhould be given; that a ſecretary of ſtate had no right to grant warrants for the ſeizure of papers, but in this inſtance he was willing to conſider Lord Rochford as a juſtice of the peace only.

He then recited the particulars of Mr Sayre's apprehenſion by the meſſengers, in conſequence of Adjutant Richardſon's ridiculous charge of a deſign to ſeize the King's perſon; and remarked, that the

plaintiff's ſolicitor had offered bail, which was refuſed by the ſecretary of ſtate, who inſtantly ſent Mr Sayre to the Tower on a freſh warrant, for "treaſonable practices," notwithſtanding the ſolicitor, Mr Reynolds, had adviſed his Lordſhip to take the opinion of the law-officers of the crown, who would have told him that the offence was bailable. The Serjeant contended, that the ſeizure and detention of papers was illegal, in all caſes but for high treaſon, and yet that Mr Sayre was committed for "treaſonable practices" only, which amount to no more than a miſdemeanor; that he was committed to *cloſe cuſtody*, his friends refuſed admittance to him; a favour which Mrs Sayre only obtained, on application to the ſecretary of ſtate; that he was afterwards brought by *Habeas corpus* before Lord Mansfield, and admitted to bail; that no ſteps have ſince been, nor ever would be taken, to proſecute Mr Sayre; that the very charge of treaſon was given up by the ſecretary of ſtate by the mode of commitment; that he was ſure Lord Rochford did not believe Richardſon's ſtory; and, on the whole, he hoped a verdict for reparation and large damages.

The witneſſes for the proſecution were now called. Joſ. Wood (a conſtable) depoſed, That he attended the meſſengers to the houſe of Mr Sayre; who ſaid, they might ſearch for his papers; they did ſo; read them, and took ſome away, and all went to Lord Rochford's.

Edward Man (a meſſenger) depoſed, That he went with others to Mr Sayre's, where they got admiſſion by pretending to be poſſeſſed of a forged draught; that he told Mr Sayre he was come on a diſagreeable buſineſs; that Mr Sayre's cloaths were brought him to dreſs; that he deſired to go into another room to ſpeak to Mrs Sayre, which was granted, the meſſenger attending him; that ſome of the papers were read by Sir Stanyan Porter and Mr Wynn; that they waited above an hour; that they then went to Lord Rochford's office, and, in conſequence of another warrant, conducted Mr Sayre to the Tower. This evidence ſaid, the firſt warrant had been lately delivered to Mr Sneed, firſt clerk to Lord Rochford; that, on receiving a ſubpœna for the trial, he had applied for it, when Mr Sneed knew not what he had done with it; and, on a ſecond application, had miſlaid it.

John Perry depoſed, That the meſſengers had called on him, and pretended to have a forged note on Sayre's houſe for 200l.; that when Sayre was apprehended, he ſaid he was in cuſtody of the King's meſſenger; and this deponent ſaid, the ſeizure of his perſon was of bad conſequence to him as a banker.

John Reynolds depoſed, That in conſequence of a meſſage from Mr Sayre, he went to his houſe; was told he was gone to Lord Rochford's; whither he went, and inſiſted on being admitted to his client. He was at firſt refuſed; but ſaying he would apply to Serjeant Glynn, he was admitted to an outer room, where he ſaw Sir John Fielding, and was at length admitted to Mr Sayre; whom he adviſed to ſay nothing, nor to ſign any paper. The minutes of the examination, and Richardſon's information, being read, Mr Reynolds ſaid, "I know that gentleman too well to give credit to any thing he ſays." Reynolds then adviſed the application to the law-officers, as above mentioned. He applied the ſame evening to Major Rainſford, for admiſſion to his client; but could not ſee him, nor ever did till he came before Lord Mansfield to be bailed. Mr Reynolds farther depoſed, that Mr Alleyne, and another counſel, applied in vain for admittance at the Tower.

Major Rainsford depoſed, That he received the priſoner, for whoſe commitment he produced the warrant; that he had refuſed the admiſſion of his friends, nor could he admit them, without an order from the ſecretary of ſtate, to a perſon in cloſe cuſtody. The warrant being read, the Major ſaid, all warrants from ſecretaries of ſtate were for cloſe cuſtody, which was not the caſe in commitments for murder, by the Houſe of Lords. He now produced the warrant for the admiſſion of Mrs Sayre.

John Ellis, Eſq; depoſed, That in conſequence of a note from Mrs Sayre, he applied at the ſecretary's office for admiſſion at the Tower, (in company with Lord Effingham and Mr Burke). The anſwer was, That he muſt apply at the Tower; and, if refuſed, make freſh application at the office.

The Attorney-General contended, That there was nothing more in this commitment than in a common caſe of falſe impriſonment; that as Mr Sayre and his friends underſtood the whole proceedings, he wondered they could think

think there was any ground of complaint; ſaid, That on the 20th of October Sayre met Richardſon at the Pennſylvania coffeehouſe; aſked him up ſtairs, locked the door; hoped he would not betray private converſation; aſked him the ſtate of the Tower, what ammunition was in it; if the ſoldiers might be induced to ſtand neuter; ſaid, that the people had determined to take the government into their own hands; that there were a ſet of fine fellows only waiting for the ſignal; that the plan was, to ſeize the King by corrupting the guards; that all depended on the temper of the people. The Attorney-General contended, that any magiſtrate muſt have acted as Lord Rochford did; that it would have been peculiar treachery in Mr Richardſon, as an officer, not to have mentioned what paſſed; that he did mention it to General Craig; who adviſed his application to the ſecretary of ſtate; that the warrant which followed was but the echo of the information; that if the moſt ſimple larceny is committed, papers are ſought after, ſeized, and kept as evidence; as were alſo ſtolen effects. He warmly inſiſted, that Lord Rochford had acted right by Mr Sayre; and ridiculed the idea of his having any pique againſt him. He vindicated the meſſengers for their honeſt fraud reſpecting the intended forgery, in order to ſeize him; ſaid, that Reynolds ſhould not have been permitted to behave as he did at Lord Rochford's; attempted to turn Mr Glynn's arguments into ridicule, and to juſtify the commitment to cloſe cuſtody; quoted a remark of Lord Coke, in the caſe of commitments to the Tower, that "*all* cuſtody, by the laws of this land, is *ſafe* and *cloſe*:" he again attacked Mr Reynolds, and inſiſted that no bail had been offered.

This ſpeech laſted an hour and quarter; in the courſe of which it was aſked, (reſpecting Mr Sayre), "if a man's being a fool ſhould protect him from being treated as a villain."

The firſt witneſs called, in ſupport of the juſtification, was Mr Richardſon, adjutant of the firſt battalion of guards, whoſe information (which had been taken and ſworn to before Lord Rochford) was read over.

It ſtated in purport, "That, on the 19th day of October laſt, the informant met Stephen Sayre, Eſq; at the Pennſylvania coffeehouſe, about twelve at noon; that Mr Sayre told him he had ſomething of conſequence to inform him of; that they went up ſtairs together; and as ſoon as they were in a room, Mr Sayre locked the door, and aſked if he would preſerve inviolate a ſecret he had to impart to him in confidence, relative to a ſcheme in which he might be uſeful; that he replied he would; that Mr Sayre then ſaid, That if meaſures were carried on as they had been of late, both England and America would be ruined; that a plan had been framed to alter the government, for that the people wiſhed to take it into their own hands; that Lord Mansfield, Lord North, and ſuch ill adviſers as they were, muſt be all deſtroyed; that ſeveral ſpirited fellows were prepared to riſe when matters were ripe for action; and, after a queſtion or two, Mr Sayre owned, that the deſign was, to ſeize the King as he went to the Houſe of Lords, and carry him to the Tower; and that there was no intention of hurting him, but he was to be conveyed after a ſhort time to his German dominions; that all the officers of ſtate were to be changed; that the Lord Mayor was to alter the ſheriffs, and to raiſe the *poſſe comitatus*, who were to guard the Tower; that fifteen hundred pounds had already been diſtributed among the ſoldiery in order to bring them over; and that they wanted him (Mr Richardſon) by bribes or promiſes, to induce his battalion, who were upon duty at the tower, to ſurrender that garriſon; with ſeveral other allegations equally extraordinary."

Mr Richardſon was croſs-examined by the plaintiff's counſel; in reply to whoſe queſtions he ſaid, he had known Mr Sayre for near ſeven years, and that they lived in terms of *intimacy*; [this expreſſion he afterwards explained to mean no more than terms of common civility, as they had but once met at a perſon's houſe, and in general only pulled off their hats to each other, and behaved with that decency and breeding incumbent on gentlemen.] He declared, that Mr Sayre promiſed him in a day or two to ſend him ten or twenty pounds by a truſty perſon, for the purpoſe which he had mentioned to him; that after he left Mr Sayre he made the propoſal known to Capt. Nugent [206.] and to Gen. Craig, the latter of whom deſired him not to mention the name of the party to him, but to wait on Lord Rochford, and give him a full account of the matter; that he did ſo, when Lord Rochford deſired him to go to Sayre, and ſee if he

would give him the money promiſed; that he went accordingly, and met Mr Sayre in a coach with Mr Reynolds; that he walked to Mr Reynolds's houſe, in Saliſbury-court, Fleet-ſtreet, where the coach was driven to; that Mr Reynolds ſhewed them into a room, where Mr Sayre ſtared him in his face, as if he ſuſpected him, and aſked him whom he had ſeen ſince their laſt meeting; when he replied, Gen. Craig; that he aſked if he had ſeen no other perſon, and pulled out his purſe with half a guinea in it, ſhewing that he had no more money about him, but would meet him at a coffee-houſe in an hour's time; that he did not go, and that Lord Rochford deſired he would proceed no further.

Gen. Craig depoſed, That Richardſon came to him; ſaid 1500l. had been diſtributed among the guards; that a plan was on foot to ſeize the King's perſon, to whom no harm was intended, but to carry him to his German dominions; ſaid Richardſon told him he had communicated this to Capt. Nugent. Mr Craig declined inquiring into particulars, and referred Mr Richardſon to Lord Rochford.

James Briſtow (clerk in the ſecretary's office) ſwore to Mr Sayre's examination before Lord Rochford, which was read, and in which Sayre owns meeting Richardſon at the coffeehouſe, who apologized to him for being in the guards, when he ought to be in the ſervice of America: Mr Sayre acknowledges he ſaid, "nothing could ſave both countries but an entire c'-ange of men and meaſures;" but denies all idea of ſeizing the King's perſon.

The Recorder replied to what had been urged by the Attorney-General, and with great ſpirit inſiſted upon the hard treatment his client had met with, even total ruin, and the right he had to expect large damages. Allowing even that a ſecretary of ſtate was warranted to act as a juſtice of the peace, he denied that Lord Rochford had acted with that impartiality, that regard for the liberty of the ſubject, that view to an equal diſtribution of juſtice, which an ordinary juſtice was bound to obſerve. The mode of apprehending Mr Sayre, the iſſuing a warrant to ſeize his papers, added to the illegality of committing him to cloſe cuſtody for a miſdemeanor only, after ſufficient bail had been offered, were inconteſtable proofs of his poſition. It was evident, he ſaid, that Lord Rochford never credited the abſurd information; if he did, why did he alter the offence alledged, by committing only for "treaſonable practices?" And why had not the proſecution been purſued? It was moſt clear, from the dropping all further proceedings, that Lord Rochford did not now believe, and he appealed to the court if there was one preſent who gave the information the leaſt credit. An ordinary juſtice, in ſuch a caſe, would at leaſt have examined into the foundation of the charge, ere he proceeded to enforce the rigour of the law. He would not, on a ſingle evidence of a moſt improbable ſtory, have gone ſo far as to commit to cloſe cuſtody. He would have endeavoured to procure ſome information, eſpecially where it could ſo very eaſily have been come at as in the preſent caſe. Had his Lordſhip ſent to the Lord Mayor, he would have thrown ſome light on the matter; ſo might the ſoldiery; but as an inconteſtable proof of the falſehood of the charge, even now at this diſtance of time, the information was altogether inſupportable. It had been urged by the Attorney-General, that Mr Sayre had been treated with all poſſible politeneſs: It was not to be ſuppoſed that Lord Rochford would treat any man unpolitely; but it was extremely evident, that Mr Sayre had been treated with the full exertion of official rigour, from the beginning to the end of the buſineſs. The iſſuing general warrants to ſeize papers had been more than once debated and ſettled; it had been argued in the caſe of Arthur Beardmore, and in the caſe of Mr Wilkes. The Recorder profeſſed himſelf againſt all ſeizures of papers; and he was perſuaded that Mr Reynolds had acted with great propriety at Lord Rochford's, however harſhly other men might treat his behaviour. He had given Lord Rochford very proper advice; the crown-lawyers were the perſons who were beſt able to have directed his Lordſhip in his proceedings; they had doubtleſs ſince been conſulted, and had very wiſely adviſed the miniſtry to drop the affair.

The Lord Chief Juſtice, in his addreſs to the jury, adverted to the different degrees of criminality in actions that might be deemed treaſonable. Thus,—conſpiring to impriſon the King is an ouvert act of treaſon: if, in conſequence of ſuch conſpiracy, he ſhould be impriſoned, it

is

is high treaſon. Repeated meetings for treaſonable purpoſes conſtitute high treaſon. Writings, under certain circumſtances, are ouvert acts; and diſcourſes may be ouvert acts. – The above were given as the opinions of that eminent lawyer Judge Forſter.— His Lordſhip now recited a ſtory of one Geohagan, who, being beyond ſea, ſaid, "I will kill the King, if I can get at him." This, it ſeems, was no offence: but Geohagan afterwards came to England, to put his threats in execution; for which he was apprehended, tried, and convicted. — The judge ſaid, that if Mr Richardſon had concealed what he heard from Mr Sayre, he would have been guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon; and if the facts alledged by Richardſon were true, Sayre had been guilty of high treaſon. The Chief Juſtice recounted the murder of Henry IV. of France, who was ſtabbed at noonday, with all his attendants about him; and he obſerved, that all conſpiracies to dethrone monarchs have been brought about by means ſeemingly the moſt improbable, and by agents whom the world deemed madmen.— He ſaid, That, on trials for treaſon, the courts have never objected to the ſeizure of papers: That highwaymen are always ſearched for papers, piſtols, and other things which may be produced in evidence againſt them. He mentioned the intended aſſaſſinations of Charles II. and William III. as plots highly improbable; as all ſuch plots have been.— His Lordſhip ended by ſaying, "that if Lord Rochford had, in their opinions, probable cauſe for his conduct, they muſt find for the defendant; if otherwiſe, for the plaintiff; and that if they did find for the plaintiff, they muſt give ſome damages."—The whole being now cloſed, the Lord Chief Juſtice obſerved upon the points of law, and then ſummed up the evidence with great accuracy.

The jury then withdrew; but a point of law being ſtarted by the defendant's counſel, about the competency of the jury's bringing in a verdict independent of the after opinion of the court in *point of juſtification*: after much battling between the advocates, they all agreed, that the jury may aſcertain what damages they thought proper, ſubject to the two following queſtions of law, to be afterwards decided by the court.

1. Whether an offer of bail, and refuſal, was admiſſible evidence on the iſſue joined on the ſpecial plea?

2. Whether the evidence was a ſufficient proof of an offer and refuſal of bail to make the ſubſequent impriſonment illegal?

The jury being brought back into court to be informed of this, returned, and about ſix o'clock gave a verdict for the plaintiff (ſubject to an after determination of thoſe two queſtions) of *One Thouſand Pounds* damages.

Counſel: for the plaintiff, Serj. Glynn, Ser. Adair, Mr Davenport, Mr Alleyne, and Mr Lee; for the defendant, Attorney and Solicitor General, Serj. Walker, Serj. Davy, Serj. Kempe, Mr Wallace, and Mr Dunning.

SIR, *London, June 25.*

THE general importance of commerce to a people muſt be conſidered in ſeveral relations; it muſt particularly be ſuppoſed to arrive one day at ſuch a height, as to introduce great wealth and luxury: this is its natural tendency; conſequently a ſtateſman, when he lays the foundation of it, ſhould reflect on the natural progreſs. Trade rarely arrives only at a certain point, and then ſtands ſtill: it will riſe to a great height unleſs it is reſtrained by an unfavourable climate, or an inſecure government. You cannot ſay to yourſelf, We will have a ſnug harmleſs commerce, ſufficient to animate induſtry, without producing the miſchiefs of luxury. If you have one, you muſt look for the other, or be greatly deceived. But this neceſſary connection has nothing formidable in it, as will abundantly appear hereafter, when I come to examine that moſt miſtaken ſubject luxury.

To be thoroughly convinced of the importance of commerce, we ſhould not amuſe ourſelves with abſtract reaſoning on cauſes and effects, but open our eyes to view and reflect on the ſtate of the ſeveral nations of Europe, from the beginning of the laſt century to the preſent time. In ſuch a view it will appear, that internal happineſs and external power have been proportioned to wealth, that is, to trade; a maxim which demands explanation.

There is not a more miſtaken idea, than the ſuppoſition, that private happineſs is the ſame when money is ſcarce, as when it is plentiful, on the principle of proportion to the quantum of commodities. If five pounds in one age will buy as much cloth, leather, proviſions, &c. as thirty pounds in another,

ther, it is as valuable, and a private man is as rich. This is but a ſpecious argument; becauſe it bears only to the expenditure of money, whereas the acquiſition of it is of equal, and even of greater importance. Suppoſe 100 l. in the reign of Henry II. of as great value as 500 l. at preſent; this proportion of five to one does not mark the proportion between the induſtry of the two periods; for there is twenty times more induſtry at preſent in the kingdom than there was in that age. This is a circumſtance which, it is ſtrange to ſay, has eſcaped all our political writers, though one of the moſt important combinations in the theory of politics. Mr Hume expreſsly ſays, that the quantity of money is of no conſequence to individuals, only affecting the public in foreign tranſactions; an error that aroſe merely from his conſidering the expence alone, and not the gain of money. But let it be conſidered how much eaſier it is in this age, beyond the proportion of five to one, or any other fixed on, for a man with a determined income to bring up his family in a way to provide for themſelves. In the expenditure of his income, he is juſt as rich as he would be in the preſent age with five times as much; but let him want to throw a part of his fortune into ſome branch of induſtry, in order to increaſe it, — or let him fix a ſon in buſineſs, — at preſent the eaſe of executing ſuch a plan is twenty times greater than before: An object of prodigious conſequence.

But this is not the only ſuperiority attending national wealth; another point is in the diffuſion of it. In ages ſo deſtitute of refinement, or in countries where national poverty is conſpicuous, the little wealth to be found is all in the hands of the higher claſſes, probably of a few nobility, and the bulk of the people are their dependents. The introduction of riches by commerce gradually gives importance to new men; the commons become more conſiderable, and the wealth circulates with a freedom proportioned to its quantity. This remark will not appear without foundation to thoſe who will take the trouble of recollecting the ſtate of Europe from the reign of William the Conqueror, to that of Henry VII. and at preſent it muſt ſurely be very apparent in this kingdom, how amazingly our great wealth is diffuſed, how ſtrangely new men of conſiderable wealth ariſe; no trade or profeſſion but what is every where full of perſons who make fortunes ample for their rank in life. This is a very excellent effect of great national wealth, and one which is not felt in poorer ages, but in proportion only to the deficiency of money: what I mean is, ſuppoſing the plenty of ſilver now five, and in Henry II.'s time one, there are now much more than five times as many of thoſe advantageous circumſtances, than there were in the former period. Of what great conſequence this muſt be to every branch of induſtry, is ſurely apparent: — Or, to ſpeak with more preciſion, how clear a proof is it, that increaſe of money increaſes induſtry beyond its own proportion?

Suppoſing this axiom eſtabliſhed, and I think the truth of it can ſcarcely be doubted, we are next to enquire, how far we are to carry the obvious concluſion, that every thing ſhould be encouraged which tends to the increaſe of wealth; or if a country grown ſo rich as to feel inconveniencies from its riches, ſhould become ſlack in ſuch meaſures

That there can be no inconveniencies flowing from immenſe national wealth, cannot be doubted; becauſe we feel it at preſent in England: but that theſe inconveniencies ought to induce a country to a change of meaſures, or a coolneſs in encouraging induſtry, I can never conceive; becauſe in this, as in all other caſes, the greater advantage is to overcome the leſs. The benefits flowing from a continued increaſe of money are much greater than the inconveniencies; ſince, let it increaſe to whetever degree it may, the advantages I mentioned above muſt inevitably increaſe with it: when money is become ſo very plentiful, as to be hurtful to induſtry, by cutting off the markets, from being unable to withſtand competition, then it will of itſelf ſtop the increaſe, and conſequently the reaſoning from an increaſe would not be juſt.

An Old Indian's Speech.

As the Engliſh army was paſſing towards Quebec along a ſoft ſavanna, between a mountain and a lake, one of the petty chiefs of the inland regions ſtood upon a rock ſurrounded by his clan, and from behind the ſhelters of the buſhes contemplated the art and regularity of European war. It was evening, the tents were pitched, he obſerved the ſecurity with which the troops reſted in the night, and the order with which the march was renewed in the morning. He continued to purſue

ſue them with his eye till they could be ſeen no longer, and then ſtood for ſome time ſilent and penſive.

Then turning to his followers, "My children, (ſaid he), I have often heard from men hoary with long life, that there was a time when our anceſtors were abſolute lords of the woods, the meadows, and the lakes, where-ever the eye can reach or the foot can paſs. They fiſhed and hunted, feaſted and danced, and when they were weary lay down under the firſt thicket without danger and without fear. They changed their habitations as the ſeaſons required, convenience prompted, or curioſity allured them, and ſometimes gathered the fruits of the mountains, and ſometimes ſported in canoes along the coaſt.

Many years and ages are ſuppoſed to have been thus paſſed in plenty and ſecurity; when at laſt a new race of men entered our country from the great ocean. They incloſed themſelves in habitations of ſtone, which our anceſtors could neither enter by violence, nor deſtroy by fire: they iſſued from theſe fortreſſes, ſometimes covered like the armadillo with ſhells, from which the lance rebounded on the ſtrikers; and ſometimes carried by mighty beaſts, which had never been ſeen in our vales or foreſts, of ſuch ſtrength and ſwiftneſs that flight and oppoſition were vain alike. Theſe invaders ranged over the continent, ſlaughtering in their rage thoſe that reſiſted, and thoſe that ſubmitted in their mirth. Of thoſe that remained, ſome were buried in caverns, and condemned to dig metals for their maſters; ſome were employed in tilling the ground, of which foreign tyrants devour the produce; and when the ſword and the mines have deſtroyed the natives, they ſupply their places by human beings of another colour, brought from ſome diſtant country, to periſh here under toil and torture.

Some there are who boaſt their humanity, and content themſelves to ſeize our chaces and fiſheries, who drive us from every tract of ground where fertility and pleaſantneſs invite them to ſettle,—and make no war upon us, except when we intrude upon our own lands.

Others pretend to have purchaſed a right of reſidence and tyranny: but ſurely the inſolence of ſuch bargains is more offenſive than the open and avowed dominion of force. What reward can induce the poſſeſſor of a country to admit a ſtranger more powerful than himſelf? Fraud or terror muſt operate in ſuch contracts; either they promiſed protection which they never have afforded, or inſtruction which they never imparted. We hoped to be ſecured by their favour from ſome other evil, or to learn the arts of Europe, by which we might be able to ſecure ourſelves. Their power they have never exerted in our defence, and their arts they have ſtudiouſly concealed from us. Their treaties are only to deceive, and their traffick only to defraud us. They have a written law among them, of which they boaſt as derived from him who made the earth and ſea, and by which they profeſs to believe, that man will be made happy when life ſhall forſake him. Why is not this law communicated to us? It is concealed becauſe it is violated: for how can they preach it to an Indian nation, when I am told that one of its firſt precepts forbids them to do to others what they would not that others ſhould do to them?

But the time perhaps is now approaching, when the pride of uſurpation ſhall be cruſhed, and the cruelties of invaſion ſhall be revenged. The ſons of rapacity have now drawn their ſwords upon each other, and referred their claims to the deciſion of war: let us look unconcerned upon the ſlaughter, and remember, that the death of every European delivers the country from a tyrant and a robber; for what is the claim of either party but the claim of the vulture to the leveret, of the tiger to the faun? Let them then continue to diſpute their title to regions which they cannot people, to purchaſe by danger and blood the empty dignity of dominion over mountains which they will never climb, and rivers which they will never paſs. Let us endeavour in the mean time to learn their diſcipline, and to forge their weapons; and when they ſhall be weakened with mutual ſlaughter, let us ruſh down upon them, force their remains to take ſhelter in their ſhips, and reign once more in our native country.

Mr URBAN, *June* 1776.

AS the news-papers aſſure us, that Capt. Cook is preparing to ſail on a third voyage for the ſole purpoſe of diſcovery, and is to reland Omiah in his native iſland in the courſe of it, give me leave to ſuggeſt a few particulars, which may not, perhaps, be unworthy the attention of that navigator.

It may be preſumed, that all doubts concerning the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent are now ſolved, and that our fu-

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ture reſearches will be directed towards the north, unleſs the unknown parts of that vaſt country diſtinguiſhed in our maps by the name of *New-Holland* ſhould be thought of importance enough to merit examination.

If that ſhould be the caſe, the Cape of Good Hope will no doubt be the route that Capt. Cook will purſue. But if, on the contrary, the northern part of the weſtern world, which is at preſent utterly unknown; then it is more than probable, that New Georgia will once more be viſited, and its limits more accurately determined, as in the way to Cape Horne, the wind and weather favouring, it will not much retard the progreſs of the voyage.

In either caſe, let us ſuppoſe Omiah ſafely landed, and the ſhips ready to ſail from Otaheite; which, if no unforeſeen accident prevents, may be before the firſt of May next, then I would recommend a N. N. W. courſe, till, having cleared the iſland of California, the ſhips ſhould fall in with the ſtraits of Anian. Here it will be indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſecure a good port, whence Capt. Cook may proceed, as circumſtances ariſe, keeping the main for his guide, trending as that trends, and ſearching narrowly for an outlet when he finds himſelf embayed. For that purpoſe (and indeed the chief purpoſe) he ſhould be provided with the frames of at leaſt four ſmall veſſels from 30 to 50 tons burthern, ready to put together as exigences may preſent.

With theſe veſſels, and theſe crews, the ſtraits of Anian ſhould be the main object of ſearch, as it is probable they may be open the greateſt part of the year; for it is by means of thoſe ſtraits that a north-eaſt paſſage home can be hoped. If that is found to be impracticable, then a weſterly courſe will probably be the only choice left; for there is great reaſon to believe that the continent extends to an immenſe diſtance in that direction; and that it is terminated only by the Indian ocean, or the ſea of Great Tartary.

The vaſt tract that is here unknown bears a very conſiderable proportion to the extent of the whole globe. From the 240th degree of weſtern longitude, and 50th of latitude northward, to the 180th degree of longitude, it is yet a queſtion whether land or ſea occupies the greater ſpace. How many nations, iſlands, and civilized ſtates, may be compriſed within this immenſe extent! What new arts, new ſciences, and new ways of living, may be traced in countries ſo remote, where no European has ever yet ſet his foot! As the earth is uniformly various (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) in her productions, what treaſures may not the naturaliſt add to his ſtores in ſuch a vaſt reſearch!

But I inſenſibly deviate from my purpoſe, which is, to recommend perſeverance in ſearching in caſe of an open ſea in the ſummer. In proceeding far northward, great caution will be neceſſary. The ſmall veſſels, well provided with oars as well as ſails, and with rollers in caſe of neceſſity to haul them by land, will be found of infinite uſe to carry the people far up the country to winter with the inhabitants. From whence they may again fall down as ſoon as the rivers are practicable in ſummer. By this means, a paſſage home by the north may *poſſibly* be obtained. It was by this method that the Ruſſians diſcovered the N. E. paſſage. They paſſed the ſtraits of Wygate in the ſummer; ran far up the *Oby* in the winter; came down with the ice as ſoon as melted; proceeded to the eaſtward while the ſea was open; ran up the Jenſka before the froſt ſet in; came down again the next ſeaſon, and proceeded as before; ran up the Lena the third winter; and before the fourth they doubled the Eaſtern Cape.

AN OLD SAILOR.

The EGOTIST: A character.

From N° 2. *of the* REFORMER, *a new weekly publication.*

I Cannot avoid juſt mentioning the Egotiſt, who is ſo enamoured with himſelf, that no occurrence appears to him of any moment, in which he ſhines not the little hero. I knew an old avaricious Baronet in the north, who exceedingly affected this ſelf-conſequence; and have admired his ingenuity, in taking occaſion, from whatever topic of converſation was introduced, to inform the company, that he was worth four thouſand a-year. One day a ſenſible man, who knew his failing, ſtudiouſly avoided this information: the old gentleman as anxiouſly endeavoured, by oblique hints and indirect alluſions, to impart it: but perceiving himſelf repeatedly defeated by the fineſſe of the other, uttered paſſionately, "Don't you know, Sir, I am worth four thouſand a-year?" Yes, replied the other, with a manly coolneſs: and if you was not worth that, you would be worth nothing.

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COMMON SENSE [265.]:
Addreſſed to the Inhabitants of America.

[*As the American congreſs* [xxxvii. 489.] *impute to the parliament a ſentiment which dropt from a member in the warmth of debate, becauſe it was let paſs unreproved; the ſentiments contained in this pamphlet may juſtly be imputed to the congreſs, as it was publiſhed under their noſe, and paſſed through ſeveral editions: without reproof. One ſhould think, that the indelicacy of it in many places muſt be ſhocking to the Rev. authors of a paſtoral letter, whoſe firſt care was* [xxxvii. 418.], *to recommend loyalty*]

INTRODUCTION.

PErhaps the ſentiments contained in the following pages are not yet ſufficiently faſhionable to procure them general favour. A long habit of not thinking a thing *wrong*, gives it a ſuperficial appearance of being *right*, and raiſes at firſt a formidable outcry in defence of cuſtom. But the tumult ſoon ſubſides. Time makes more converts than reaſon.

As a long and violent abuſe of power, is generally the means of calling the right of it in queſtion, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the ſufferers been aggravated into the inquiry); and as the K— of England had undertaken, in his *own right*, to ſupport the parliament in what he calls *theirs*; and as the good people of this country are grievouſly oppreſſed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretenſions of both, and equally to reject the uſurpation of either.

In the following ſheets, the author hath ſtudiouſly avoided every thing which is perſonal among ourſelves. Compliments to or cenſures on individuals make no part thereof. The wiſe, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and thoſe whoſe ſentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ceaſe of themſelves, unleſs too much pains are beſtowed upon their converſion.

The cauſe of America is in a great meaſure the cauſe of all mankind. Many circumſtances have, and will ariſe, which are not local, but univerſal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are intereſted. The laying a country deſolate with fire and ſword, declaring war againſt the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which claſs, regardleſs of party cenſure, is the AUTHOR.

P. S. The publication of this new edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been neceſſary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independence: as no anſwer hath yet appeared, it is now preſumed that none will, the time needful for getting ſuch a performance ready for the public being conſiderably paſt.

Who the author of this production is, is wholly unneceſſary for the public to know; as the object for attention is the *Doctrine itſelf*, not the *Man*. Yet it may not be unneceſſary to ſay, That he is unconnected with any party, and under no ſort of influence, public or private, but the influence of reaſon and principle.

Philadelphia, February 14. 1776.

Of the origin and deſign of government in general; with conciſe remarks on the Engliſh conſtitution.

SOme writers have ſo confounded ſociety with government, as to leave little or no diſtinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedneſs. The former promotes our happineſs *poſitively*, by uniting our affections; the latter *negatively*, by reſtraining our vices. The one encourages intercourſe; the other creates diſtinctions. The firſt is a patron; the laſt a puniſher.

Society in every ſtate is a bleſſing; but government, even in its beſt ſtate, is but a neceſſary evil; in its worſt ſtate, an intolerable one; for when we ſuffer, or are expoſed to the ſame miſeries, *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*, our calamities are heightened by reflecting, that we furniſh the means by which we ſuffer. Government, like dreſs, is the badge of loſt innocence: the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradiſe. For were the impulſes of conſcience clear, uniform, and irreſiſtibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the caſe, he finds it neceſſary to ſurrender up a part of his property to furniſh means for the protection of the reſt; and this he is induced to do by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe adviſes him out of two evils to chuſe the leaſt. *Wherefore*, ſecurity being the true deſign and end of government, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears moſt likely to enſure it to us, with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of government, let

us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtered part of the earth, unconnected with the reſt: they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country, or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, ſociety will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto. The ſtrength of one man is ſo unequal to his wants, and his mind ſo unfitted for perpetual ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another, who, in his turn, requires the ſame. *Four* or *five* united would be able to raiſe a tolerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs: but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing: when he had felled his timber, he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed: hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſe, nay, even miſfortune, would be death; for though neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh than to die.

Thus neceſſity, like a gravitating power, would ſoon form our newly-arrived emigrants into ſociety; the reciprocal bleſſings of which, would ſuperſede, and render the obligations of law and government unneceſſary, while they remained perfectly juſt to each other: but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that, in proportion as they ſurmount the firſt difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cauſe, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and theſe remiſſneſs will point out the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government to ſupply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a ſtate-houſe, under the branches of which, the whole colony may aſſemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their firſt laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS, and be enforced by no other penalty than public diſeſteem. In this firſt parliament every man, by natural right, will have a ſeat.

But as the colony increaſes, the public concerns will increaſe likewiſe; and the diſtance at which the members may be ſeparated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occaſion, as at firſt, when their number was ſmall, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their conſenting to leave the legiſlative part to be managed by a ſelect number choſen from the whole body, who are ſuppoſed to have the ſame concerns at ſtake which thoſe have who appointed them, and who will act in the ſame manner as the whole body would act, were they preſent. If the colony continue increaſing, it will become neceſſary to augment the number of the repreſentatives; and, that the intereſt of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found beſt to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part ſending its proper number: and, that the *elected* might never form to themſelves an intereſt ſeperate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often; becauſe, as the *elected* might by that means return, and mix again with the general body of the *electors* in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be ſecured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themſelves. And as this frequent interchange will eſtabliſh a common intereſt with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally ſupport each other; and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *ſtrength of government, and the happineſs of the governed.*

Here then is the origin and riſe of government; namely, a mode rendered neceſſary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world: here too is the deſign and end of government, viz. freedom and ſecurity. And however our eyes may be dazzled with ſhow, or our ears deceived by ſound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or intereſt darken our underſtanding, the ſimple voice of nature and of reaſon will ſay, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. That the more ſimple any thing is, the leſs liable it is to be diſordered, and the eaſier repaired when diſordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the ſo-much-boaſted conſtitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and ſlaviſh times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with

with tyranny, the leaſt remove therefrom was a glorious reſcue. But that it is imperfect, ſubject to convulſions, and incapable of producing what it ſeems to promiſe, is eaſily demonſtrated.

Abſolute governments (though the diſgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are ſimple: if the people ſuffer, they know the head from which their ſufferings ſpring; know likewiſe the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of cauſes and cures. But the conſtitution of England is ſo exceedingly complex, that the nation may ſuffer for years together without being able to diſcover in which part the fault lies: ſome will ſay in one, and ſome in another, and every political phyſician will adviſe a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long-ſtanding prejudices; yet, if we will ſuffer ourſelves to examine the component parts of the Engliſh conſtitution, we ſhall find them to be the baſe remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with ſome new republican materials:

1. The remains of monarchical tyranny in the perſon of the king;

2. The remains of ariſtocratical tyranny in the perſons of the peers;

3. The new republican materials, in the perſons of the commons; on whoſe virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two firſt, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore, in a *conſtitutional ſenſe*, they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the ſtate.

To ſay, that the conſtitution of England is an *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical: either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To ſay, that the commons are a check upon the king, preſuppoſes two things:

1. That the king is not to be truſted without being looked after; or, in other words, that a thirſt for abſolute power is the natural diſeaſe of monarchy;

2. That the commons, by being appointed for that purpoſe, are either wiſer or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the ſame conſtitution which gives the commons a power to check the king, by with-holding the ſupplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons, by impowering him to reject their other bills, it again ſuppoſes that the king is wiſer than thoſe whom it has already ſuppoſed to be wiſer than he. A mere abſurdity!

There is ſomething exceedingly ridiculous in the compoſition of monarchy. It firſt excludes a man from the means of information; yet impowers him to act in caſes where the higheſt judgement is required. The ſtate of a king ſhuts him from the world; yet the buſineſs of a king requires him to know it thoroughly: wherefore, the different parts, unnaturally oppoſing and deſtroying each other, prove the whole character to be abſurd and uſeleſs.

Some writers have explained the Engliſh conſtitution thus: The king, ſay they, is one; the people another: the peers are an houſe in behalf of the King; the commons in behalf of the people. But this hath all the diſtinctions of an houſe divided againſt itſelf: and though the expreſſions be pleaſantly arranged, yet, when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous: and it will always happen, that the niceſt conſtruction that words are capable of, when applied to the deſcription of ſome thing which either cannot exiſt, or is too incomprehenſible to be within the compaſs of deſcription, will be words of ſound only, and though they may amuſe the ear, they cannot inform the mind; for this explanation includes a previous queſtion, viz. *How came the king by a power which the people are afraid to truſt, and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wiſe people; neither can any power, *which needs checking*, be from God; yet the proviſion which the conſtitution makes, ſuppoſes ſuch a power to exiſt.

But the proviſion is unequal to the taſk; the means either cannot or will not accompliſh the end; and the whole affair is a *ſelo de ſe*. For as the greater weight will always carry up the leſs, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the conſtitution has the moſt weight; for that will govern: and though the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phraſe is, check the rapidity of its motion; yet, ſo long as they cannot ſtop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the firſt moving power will at laſt have its way, and what it wants in ſpeed is ſupplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the Engliſh conſtitution, needs

not be mentioned; and that it derives its whole conſequences merely from being the giver of places and penſions, is ſelf-evident; wherefore, though we have been wiſe enough to ſhut and lock a door againſt abſolute monarchy, we at the ſame time have been fooliſh enough to put the crown in poſſeſſion of the key.

The prejudice of Engliſhmen, in favour of their own government by king, lords, and commons, ariſes as much, or more, from national pride, than reaſon. Individuals are undoubtedly ſafer in England than in ſome other countries; but the *will* of the king is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France; with this difference, that, inſtead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the moſt formidable ſhape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles I. hath only made kings more ſubtle,—not more juſt.

Wherefore, laying aſide all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the conſtitution of the people, and not to the conſtitution of the government*, that the crown is not as oppreſſive in England as in Turky.

An inquiry into the *conſtitutional errors* in the Engliſh form of government is at this time highly neceſſary: for as we are never in a proper condition of doing juſtice to others, while we continue under the influence of ſome leading partiality; ſo neither are we capable of doing it to ourſelves, while we remain fettered by any obſtinate prejudice. And as a man who is attached to a proſtitute, is unfitted to chuſe or judge of a wife; ſo any prepoſſeſſion in favour of a rotten conſtitution of government, will diſable us from diſcerning a good one.

Of monarchy, and hereditary ſucceſſion.

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtance. The diſtinctions of rich and poor may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh ill-ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice. Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater diſtinction, for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned; and that is, the diſtinction of men into KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature; good and bad the diſtinctions of Heaven: but how a race of men came into the world ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth inquring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or of miſery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the ſcripture-chronology, there were no kings; the conſequence of which was, there were no wars. It is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confuſion. Holland, without a king, hath enjoyed more peace, for this laſt century, than any of the monarchial governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the ſame remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the firſt patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

Government by kings was firſt introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Iſrael copied the cuſtom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, and the Chriſtian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of *Sacred Majeſty* applied to a worm, who, in the midſt of his ſplendor, is crumbling into duſt!

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt cannot be juſtified on the equal rights of nature; ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture: for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon, and the prophet Samuel, expreſsly diſapproves of government by kings. All antimonarchial parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchial governments; but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. *Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's* is the ſcriptural doctrine of courts; yet it is no ſupport of monarchial government; for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

Near three thouſand years paſſed away from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews, under a national deluſion, requeſted a king. Till then their form

of

of government (except in extraordinary caſes, where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of republic, adminiſtered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none; and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder, that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honour, ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of Heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

The children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army; and victory, through the divine interpoſition, decided in his favour. The Jews, elated with ſucceſs, and attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king, ſaying, *Rule thou over us, thou, and thy ſon, and thy ſon's ſon.* Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one: but Gideon, in the piety of his ſoul, replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you;* THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU. Words need not be more explicit: Gideon doth not *decline* the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but, in the poſitive ſtyle of a prophet, charges them with diſaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Heathens, is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that, laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons, who were intruſted with ſome ſecular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, ſaying, *Behold, thou art old, and thy ſons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve, that their motives were bad, *viz.* that they might be *like* unto other nations, *i. e.* the Heathens; whereas their true glory lay in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel, when they ſaid, Give us a king to judge us: and Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord ſaid unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me,* THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. *According to all the works which they have done ſince the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day, wherewith they have forſaken me, and ſerved other gods; ſo do they alſo unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit, proteſt ſolemnly unto them, and ſhew them the manner of the King that ſhall reign over them*; i. e. not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Iſrael was ſo eagerly copying after: and notwithſtanding the great diſtance of time, and difference of manners, the character is ſtill in faſhion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that aſked of him a king. And he ſaid, This will be the manner of the king that ſhall reign over you: He will take your ſons, and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots.* (This deſcription agrees with the preſent mode of impreſſing men). *And he will appoint him captains over thouſands, and captains over fifties, and will ſet them to ear his ground, and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of war, and inſtruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.* (This deſcribes the expence and luxury, as well as the oppreſſion, of kings). *And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants. And he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his ſervants.* (By which we ſee that bribery, corruption, and favouritiſm, are the ſtanding vices of kings). *And he will take your men-ſervants, and your maid-ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men, and your aſſes, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your ſheep: and ye ſhall be his ſervants. And ye ſhall cry out in that day, becauſe of your king which ye ſhall have choſen you;* AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY. This accounts for the continuation of monarchy. Neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived ſince, either ſanctify the

the title, or blot out the ſinfulneſs of the origin. The high encomium given of David, takes no notice of him *officially as a king*, but only as a *man* after God's own heart. *Nevertheleſs, the people refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel; and they ſaid, Nay, but we will have a king over us; that we alſo may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.* Samuel continued to reaſon with them; but to no purpoſe: he ſet before them their ingratitude; but all would not avail: and, ſeeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord, and he ſhall ſend thunder and rain;* (which then was a puniſhment, being in the time of wheat-harveſt), *that ye may perceive and ſee that your wickedneſs is great, which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord* IN ASKING YOU A KING. *So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord ſent thunder and rain that day: and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people ſaid unto Samuel, Pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not: for* WE HAVE ADDED UNTO ALL OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK US A KING. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchial government is true, or the ſcripture is falſe: and a man hath good reaſon to believe, that there is as much of king-craft, as prieſt-craft, in with-holding the ſcripture from the public in Popiſh countries: for monarchy, in every inſtance, is the Popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion: and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves; ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on poſterity: for, all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever: and though himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honours of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendents might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature diſapproves it; otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule, by giving mankind an *aſs for a lion*.

Secondly, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honours than were beſtowed upon him; ſo the givers of thoſe honours could have no power to give away the right of poſterity; and though they might ſay, "We chuſe you for *our* head," they could not, without manifeſt injuſtice to their children, ſay, "That your children, and your childrens children, ſhall reign over *ours* for ever;" becauſe ſuch an unwiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact, might, perhaps, in the next ſucceſſion, put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men, in their private ſentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils, which when once eſtabliſhed, is not eaſily removed. Many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the more powerful part ſhares with the king the plunder of the reſt.

This is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that, could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their firſt riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners, or pre-eminence in ſubtlety, obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who, by increaſing in power, and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenceleſs to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendents; becauſe ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore hereditary ſucceſſion, in the early ages of monarchy, could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual or complimental; but as few or no records were extant in thoſe days, and traditionary hiſtory was ſtuffed with fables, it was very eaſy, after the lapſe of a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet-like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leader, and the choice of a new one, (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly), induced many at firſt to favour hereditary pretenſions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened

happened since, that what at first was submitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, since the Conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his senses can say, that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French bastard, landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England, against the consent of the natives, is, in plain terms, a very paltry, rascally original.—It certainly hath no divinity in it. However, it is needless to spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right: if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion.

Yet I should be glad to ask, how they suppose kings came at first? The question admits but of three answers, *viz.* either by lot; by election; or by usurpation. If the first king was taken by lot, it establishes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary succession. Saul was by lot; yet the succession was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that transaction there was any intention it ever should. If the first king of any country was by election, that likewise establishes a precedent for the next: for to say, that the *right* of all future generations is taken away by the act of the first electors, in their choice, not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of scripture, but the doctrine of original sin, which supposes the free will of all men lost in Adam; and from such comparison, (and it will admit of no other), hereditary succession can derive no glory. For as in Adam all sinned, and as in the first electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were subjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was lost in the first, and our authority in the last; and as both disable us from reassuming some former state and privilege; it unanswerably follows, that original sin and hereditary succession are parallels. Dishonourable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the most subtle sophist cannot produce a juster simile.

As to usurpation, no man will be so hardy as to defend it: and that William the Conqueror was an usurper, is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not so much the absurdity as the evil of hereditary succession which concerns mankind. Did it ensure a race of good and wise men, it would have the seal of divine authority; but as it opens a door to the *foolish*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppression. Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey, soon grow insolent; selected from the rest of mankind, their minds are early poisoned by importance; and the world they act in differs so materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true interests; and, when they succeed to the government, are frequently the most ignorant and unfit of any throughout their dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary succession, is, that the throne is subject to be possessed by a minor at any age; all which time, the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their trust. The same national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the last stage of human weakness. In both these cases the public becomes a prey to every miscreant, who can tamper successfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The most plausible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary succession, is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars: and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas it is the most barefaced falsity ever imposed upon mankind. The whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the Conquest, in which time there have been (including the Revolution) no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore, instead of making for peace, it makes against it, and destroys the very foundation it seems to stand on.

The contest for monarchy and succession between the houses of York and Lancaster, laid England in a scene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, besides skirmishes and sieges, were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry prisoner to Edward;

Edward; who, in his turn, was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war, and the temper of a nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to flee from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to ſucceed him; the parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

This conteſt began in the reign of Henry VI. and was not entirely extinguiſhed till Henry VII. in whom the families were united, including a period of ſixty-ſeven years, *viz.* from 1422 to 1489.

In ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid (not this or that kingdom only, but) the world in blood and aſhes. It is a form of government which the word of God bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

If we inquire into the buſineſs of a king, we ſhall find, that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves, or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene, and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle round. In abſolute monarchies the whole weight of buſineſs, civil and military, lies on the king. The children of Iſrael, in their requeſt for a king, urged this plea, "That he may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, as in E———d, a man would be puzzled to know what *is* his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the leſs buſineſs there is for a king. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of E———d. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but, in its preſent ſtate, it is unworthy of the name; becauſe the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue, of the houſe of commons, (the republican part in the conſtitution), that the government of England is nearly as monarchial as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them. For it is the republican, and not the monarchial, part of the conſtitution of England, which Engliſhmen glory in, *viz.* the liberty of chuſing an houſe of commons from out of their own body; — and it is eaſy to ſee, that when the republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues. Why is the conſtitution of E———d ſickly, but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic, the crown hath engroſſed the commons?

In England a k— hath little more to do than to make war and give away places: which, in plain terms, is to impoveriſh the nation, and ſet it together by the ears. A pretty buſineſs indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thouſand Sterling a-year for, and worſhipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honeſt man to ſociety, and in the ſight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

Thoughts, &c. [*To be continued.*]

A CHARACTER [xxiii. 169. 673.]:

From Weſley's Hiſtory of England.

GEORGE II. died Oct. 25. 1760, in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign, lamented by his ſubjects, and in the midſt of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the preciſe time of its arrival, it was he. The factions which had been nurſing during his long reign, had not yet come to maturity; but threatened, with all their virulence, to afflict his ſucceſſor.

"On whatever ſide," ſays a late writer, "we look upon his character, we ſhall find ample matter for juſt and unſuſpected praiſe. None of his predeceſſors on the throne of England lived to ſo great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity. His ſubjects were ſtill improving under him, in commerce and arts; and his own œconomy ſet a prudent example to the nation; which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, ſudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his conduct, made no change in his behaviour, which was generally guided by reaſon. He was plain and direct in his intentions; true to his word; ſteady in his favour and protection to his ſervants, not parting even with his miniſters till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In ſhort, through the whole of his life, he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of uſeful virtues than ſplendid ones; and, ſatisfied with being good, left others their unenvied greatneſs."

PAR-

PARLIAMENT. [243.]

Motions, &c. in the Houſe of Commons.

A motion was made by Mr Grenville, April 26. for leave to bring in a bill, more effectually to puniſh candidates offering or giving bribes at elections for members of parliament. It was urged in the courſe of a ſhort debate, that the ſeſſion was too far advanced for a bill of ſuch importance: and it was agreed to give leave for the bill, but not to bring it in till next ſeſſion.

On a motion made by the Lord Mayor, May 2. the reſolution for a bill to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with certain colonies was read. Then his Lordſhip made a ſpeech, explaining his intention, and concluded with moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the uſe which the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty have made of the power given them by the prohibitory act, to grant licences to ſuch ſhips or veſſels as ſhall be actually retained or employed in his Majeſty's ſervice, or to ſuch ſhips or veſſels as ſhall be laden with proviſions for the uſe of his Majeſty's fleets or armies in garriſons, or for the uſe of the inhabitants of any town or place, garriſoned or poſſeſſed by any of his Majeſty's troops."—Gov. Johnſtone ſeconded the motion.—Lord North objected to its being referred to a private committee. He acknowledged licences had been granted by miſtake to five veſſels, two of which only went, and no licences had been granted to any other ſhips or veſſels.—After a ſhort debate, it was ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe on the Wedneſday following.

Next day, May 3. the Houſe reſolved to addreſs the King for copies of thoſe licences; and Mr Buller preſented them on the 7th. In a committee, May 8. witneſſes were examined. After ſeveral had been examined, a member moved to report, that the committee had made ſome progreſs, and to aſk leave to ſit again: but it paſſed in the negative, 110 to 32. Another witneſs being examined, the motion was repeated, and again negatived, 115 to 35. The examination was proceeded in; and then a member made the following motion: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſeveral licences have been granted by the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to ſhips bound for Boſton, and other ports in North America, ſince the paſſing of the prohibitory bill, which were too general, and not warranted by the proviſion in the act giving the power to grant ſuch licences, but were contrary thereto." A motion was immediately made to leave the chair; and Mr Pulteney having put the queſtion, "That I now leave the chair?" a debate aroſe, which laſted till paſt four o'clock on Thurſday morning; and then the Houſe divided, Ayes 105, Noes 31.

A letter ſigned by Sir Grey Cooper was read in the committee, which concludes thus: "I am at the ſame time to direct you, to take care that the goods which you ſhall purchaſe and ſhip for this ſervice, be ſuch as may be carried to America as ſtores and proviſions for the army, or for the uſe of the inhabitants of ſuch towns and places as aforeſaid, purſuant to the exceptions in the late act of parliament, and in conformity to the licences which may be granted to you for that purpoſe." And it appeared from the evidence, that as ſoon as information was received, that, under the authority of this letter, goods had been ordered to be ſhipped for Boſton which could not be exported purſuant to the proviſo or exception in the act, all ſuch orders were inſtantly countermanded; that before the 20th of March laſt, all goods which had been entered and ſhipped as ſtores under a miſconſtruction of the act, and which were not warranted by the proviſo, were ordered to be relanded, and were actually relanded; and that no other commiſſion ſubſiſted between the Lords of the Treaſury and the perſon to whom the letter was written, except for a ſupply of a certain quantity of live cattle and live ſtock, to be conſigned to the commander in chief in America, for the uſe of the army under his command; and that in the five veſſels which were employed to furniſh ſuch ſupply, no articles were entered or ſhipped except proviſions to the value of about 3000 l. in the whole, on the private account of the merchant.

On the 6th of May, when the order of the day was read, for going into a committee of ſupply to conſider of the King's meſſage for a vote of credit [236.], Col. Barré aroſe; and, holding a paper in his hand, which he informed the Houſe he had cut out of the London Gazette, and which he obſerved was the only account or reaſon aſſigned for the Britiſh troops

quitting Boſton [254.], followed this ſhort exordium with moving, "That copies of the diſpatches received from the 1ſt of March laſt from Gen. Howe, and Vice-Adm. Shuldam, be laid before the Houſe, before they proceed to grant any further ſupplies for carrying on the war." The Colonel obſerved, that the only paper publiſhed by authority was become a diſgrace to the nation; that the moſt ſhameful efforts had been made to miſlead the people without doors, but, what was of infinitely worſe conſequence to the nation at large, that Houſe had been groſſly miſled in every ſingle communication which had come from his Majeſty's ſervants, or, which amounted to nearly the ſame thing, every degree and ſpecies of information had been refuſed.

Lord North aſſerted, that the troops were not compelled to abandon Boſton. He confirmed the contents of the London Gazette; ſaid, that as the Britiſh troops met not the leaſt interruption from the rebels, neither did the General come into any compromiſe whatever. He ſaid, the ſtores, ammunition, &c. were not abandoned; that the army ſuffered no loſs either immediately before or on its embarkation; that the troops embarked with all poſſible coolneſs and regularity, and even, as he emphatically expreſſed it, perfectly at *their eaſe*.

Lord John Cavendiſh obſerved, that the nation had been inſidiouſly led into a war; when once embarked, it was too late to recede; and from the very firſt day the ſword was drawn, his Majeſty's miniſters have refuſed to impart a ſingle tittle relative to the conduct of this war; and the miniſter, with a confidence hitherto unexampled, comes down day after day to this Houſe, and expects an implicit obedience and aſſent to whatever demand he pleaſes to make, without any other pretenſions to their favour or confidence, but what he can build on the information, that under his adminiſtration the whole Britiſh empire has been loſt at the national expence of twenty millions of money, preciſely in eleven months from day to day, that is, from the date of the defeat at Lexington, to the celebrated imbarkation, which was the ſubject of the preſent debate.

Mr Byng ſaid, the public ought to be informed what was doing in America, and to what purpoſes the money was to be applied, which they were granting out of their own pockets.

Sir George Yonge ſaid, it was impoſſible but the conſequences of the preſent war muſt be the deſtruction of the nation: In any hands the event would be doubtful; but in ſuch hands the ruin and diſgrace of the nation, and the loſs of America, were inevitable.

Mr Hartley contended, notwithſtanding the broad, unqualified aſſertions of the Noble Lord at the head of the treaſury, that Gen. Howe was *driven* from Boſton; and that nothing but a dread of having his whole army cut to pieces, or made priſoners, induced him to make ſo precipitate and unexpected a retreat.

Mr Burke obſerved, that the Noble Lord had diſclaimed any intention of giving falſe colours to the account which appeared in the London Gazette; but there was no room left for a poſſibility of miſrepreſentation; for though the Boſton extraordinaries for 8000 men, in the courſe of twelve months, had amounted to one million and a half, or nearly two hundred pounds a-man, for ſalt beef and ſour crout, he would be bold to affirm, and called upon the Noble Lord to contradict him, that the troops could not have remained in that town ten days longer, if the heavens had not rained down *manna* and *quails*: and in a ſimilar expectation, he preſumed, the troops were imbarked for Halifax, a land flowing with *milk* and *honey*.

Mr Ellis and Mr Littelton ſpoke againſt the motion. They inſiſted, that the communication would be exceedingly improper in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs.

Gen. Conway was bold, animated, and perſuaſive. He ſaid, the Britiſh arms had been diſgraced, the Britiſh councils had fallen into contempt, and the honour of the nation was deeply wounded. He condemned the conduct of adminiſtration without reſerve, and ſaid, the army which was deſtined for the conqueſt of America, was now lying inactive, and ſtuffed into tranſports waiting at Spithead; that ſome of them were in Germany; ſome of them at Spithead, and none of them where they ſhould long ſince have been; that he always thought the meaſure of coercing America for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, an unjuſt one; he always looked upon it to be impracticable; but was certain it was to the laſt degree cruel, oppreſſive, and deſtructive; deſtructive in either event;—of the commerce, importance, and deareſt intereſts,

tereſts, of this countrty, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry; deſtructive of what was ſtill, if poſſible, more valuable, its liberties, if it ſhould ſucceed.

The Lord Mayor was remarkably ſevere on adminiſtration.

Mr Hopkins ſpoke againſt the motion; ſaid, ſecrecy ſhould be obſerved, otherwiſe all our plans would ſhortly come to the knowledge of our enemies.

A few minutes before 9 o'clock the queſtion was put, and the Houſe divided, Ayes 54, Noes 171.

On the 10th of May the Lord Mayor made a motion for the putting of America on the ſame footing with Ireland. The motion was ſupported by Mr Oliver, Col. Barré, and Mr Hartley; and oppoſed by Lord North, Mr Rigby, and Sir Grey Cooper. The queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative, 115 to 35.

On the 22d of May, Gen. Conway, having ſpoke for upwards of an hour, made the following motion: "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there be laid before this Houſe copies of the inſtructions given to Lord Howe and Gen. Howe, for making peace with America.

The General arraigned the meaſures of government in very ſevere terms, and concluded his ſpeech by obſerving, that if that Houſe continued to vote at the pleaſure of the miniſter, argument would have as little effect here, as the troops have in America.

He was ſeconded by Col. Barré, who condemned every proceeding that had been hitherto taken; and obſerved, whenever a motion of this nature was made, he ſaw a ſet of features to whom he was an entire ſtranger, except upon ſuch treaſury-attendances.

Lord North combated the arguments of both the Colonel and General; denied the neceſſity of ſhewing the accounts, or orders; and argued upon the prudence and good management of keeping that a ſecret, which, if known, might fruſtrate future operations.

His Lordſhip was anſwered by Lord John Cavendiſh, who was equally ſevere.

Mr Burke ſtood upon the ground of the General's motion, contended for its neceſſity, and rallied the weakneſs of adminiſtration. Their meaſures, he ſaid, were full of blunders, their deſigns attended by an uncommon fatality, and the execution of their orders were ſuch as ſerved to heighten the ſpirit of the Americans, and diſgrace the glory of England.

Mr Fox canvaſſed every argument of Lord North; he ſaid, the miniſtry magnified every defeat into victory, and every ſhameful retreat into prudence, good conduct, and heroiſm.

The queſtion being put, paſſed in the negative, 171 to 85.

On the 23d of May, the laſt day of the ſeſſion, Mr Hartley made the following motion; and he was ſeconded by Sir George Saville: "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, ſetting forth, "That his faithful Commons, in compliance with the ſentiments and recommendations of his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, have been induced to ſupport his Majeſty with very great and expenſive armaments, both by ſea and land, together with many powers of coercion and puniſhment of ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America as are in a ſtate of reſiſtance to his authority; that his faithful Commons, repoſing themſelves implicitly upon the wiſdom and moderation of his Majeſty's councils, and without any communication of the detail of matters and tranſactions in America, either from the governors of the provinces, or the commanders of his Majeſty's forces, or any communication of authentic papers from any of the public offices correſponding with the plantations, which might be explanatory of the views, tempers, forces, connections, public proceedings, number, and diſpoſition of the perſons diſcontented and in arms, have adopted meaſures in general confidence of the recommendation of his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, without ſpecific materials of information, his Majeſty not having thought proper to refer any ſuch to this Houſe; that his faithful Commons having repoſed a boundleſs truſt in the wiſdom of his Majeſty's councils, think themſelves ſo much the more bound to their conſtituents, and to their country, to watch that the powers which they have ſo entruſted to his Majeſty may not be ignorantly or deſtructively applied by his miniſters; and as the events of this anxious and important year may probably be deciſive to the future union and well-being of all his Majeſty's dominions, and as the advice of parliament at the ſhorteſt notice may be of

the utmoſt importance to the ſalvation of theſe kingdoms; and as a continued ſeries of unſucceſsful and unpromiſed events have attended the execution of his Majeſty's councils for many months paſt, from the loſs of Ticonderoga, till the retreat of his Majeſty's forces from Boſton, which ſeem to betray either ignorance or concealment of the operating cauſes which have produced ſuch unexpected events, and which have occaſioned a general diſquietude and alarm, that his faithful Commons humbly intreat, that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed not to prorogue the parliament, but that he will ſuffer them to continue ſitting by adjournment, during the ſummer, that they may be ready to receive from time to time ſuch information of the tranſactions in America, as his Majeſty ſhall think proper to lay before them, to watch and to provide for every important event at the earlieſt moment."— It paſſed in the negative.

MOTIONS ſimilar to ſome of the preceding were made in the Houſe of Lords.

On the 10th of May the Duke of Mancheſter made a pathetic ſpeech, lamenting the unhappy ſtate of this country, involved in an unſucceſsful war with a part of its own ſubjects, oppreſſed with taxes to ſupport it, and governed by an adminiſtration reſolved not to liſten to any petitions, remonſtrances, or arguments, tending to bring about a reconciliation on reaſonable terms, but obſtinately bent on purſuing coercive meaſures, to the ruin of both the mother-country and the colonies; and even in the conduct of theſe committing ſo many blunders, and being guilty of ſuch delays, that it was impoſſible the operations of the war could anſwer the end propoſed by it. After taking notice of the mutilated, partial account given in the Gazette of the retreat of the King's troops from Boſton [254.], and obſerving, that it differed very materially from authentic accounts received by private perſons from officers of the army, and other reſpectable people on the ſpot, he inſiſted, that the Houſe, and the public at large, while our national ſtrength was mouldering away, and the money of the people of this country expended in ſupport of an unjuſt war, had a right to receive all the intelligence that was tranſmitted to the miniſtry reſpecting the operations and movements of our fleets and armies in America. His Grace therefore moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, requeſting, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order the proper officers to lay before the Houſe copies of all diſpatches received by government from Gen. Howe and Adm. Shuldam ſince the 1ſt of March."

Lord Suffolk objected to the motion; ſaid it was highly improper; that it could not poſſibly be done, becauſe the diſpatches contained a variety of matter, ſome of which related to the future deſigns of the General in carrying on the war, which no Noble Lord could expect the miniſtry to reveal. He then entered more minutely into the late tranſaction at Boſton, which his Lordſhip called *ſhifting the poſition* of the army, and wiſhed he could with propriety lay before the Houſe the full detail of the General's conduct, for his own ſake, as it would greatly redound to his honour, and ſhew that he poſſeſſed all the diſtinguiſhed military abilities for which his family had been ſo eminent. His Lordſhip ſaid, that the Gazette had given the matters of fact as they happened, and he ſhould never expect to ſee any thing more in that paper: it was true, it might have been added, which would have prevented ſome falſe reports induſtriouſly circulated through the town, that he took away with him all the ſtores, artillery, baggage, and other effects belonging to the army, as well as the effects of the friends of government, inhabitants of the town, whoſe perſons he likewiſe took under his protection, and ſafely embarked the whole without any moleſtation from the rebels: That not the leaſt ſhadow of any convention between Gen. Howe and the rebel-commander was to be found in the General's diſpatches; and he could aſſure their Lordſhips no capitulation or agreement had been made between them. He congratulated the Lords whoſe conſtant approbation had been given to all the meaſures againſt America, that the King's troops had ſhifted their poſition; for it was never intended to carry on the operations of this campaign from Boſton; Gen. Howe had long ſince inſtructions from home to remove the troops whenever he judged it proper; and now he would put Halifax in a proper ſtate of defence, which it was not before, and from thence be able to carry on the war with the reinforcements he would receive from England. In fine, he triumphed in this event, and wondered that ſome Noble

Lords

Lords at one time ſhould have deſcribed Boſton as the moſt inconvenient pitiful place in all North America for the head quarters of the army, and that, now the King's troops had left it, they ſhould conſider it as an important loſs to this country.

The Marquis of Rockingham ſpoke next, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that the miniſtry ſhould with-hold any part of the intelligence they had received concerning the retreat of the royal army from Boſton. If the General did imbark all the ſtores, he thought this poor conſolation ought to have been given to the people, and that the writer of the Gazette ought to be ſeverely reprimanded for omitting it. If there was no convention or capitulation, he deſired to know why Gen. Howe did not burn the town, as general orders had been given to ſet fire to the towns in rebellion. The Marquis thought the motion a very proper one, and that the people had a right to be informed, which they were to rely on, the accounts ſent to private perſons, which mention that Gen. Howe was compelled to leave Boſton by the rebels; and that he agreed not to ſet fire to the town, on condition he ſhould not be moleſted in his embarkation of the troops; or the imperfect relation given in the Gazette, together with what had fallen from the Noble Earl in high office.

Lord Effingham enlarged upon the impoſſibility of Gen. Howe's removing all the artillery; on the impropriety of removing the troops to Halifax at ſuch an improper ſeaſon; and the great probability that they would not arrive there, but ſuffer great diſtreſs at ſea, perhaps be obliged to put into the firſt port for ſhelter, and very likely the next news of them would be from Antigua.

Lord Shelburne condemned the war in the ſtrongeſt terms; ſaid he ſhould always give his opinion againſt it in the worn-out office of a private member of parliament; that when he had the honour of ſerving the King, all letters from commanders and admirals concerning their operations, were laid before the public as ſoon as poſſible after their arrival, in the cleareſt and moſt ample manner; and he gave ſeveral inſtances when Mr Pitt was at the head of affairs. He ſaw no detriment that could ariſe from the communication; for as to any future deſigns, they muſt be carried into execution, or fail, before any intelligence of what paſſed now in parliament could be conveyed to America. The public had a right to know what was done, when government called upon them for freſh taxes; which, with an air of reformation, were ſaid to be laid on luxury; a term but ill underſtood, but he knew they would ultimately fall on the poor.

Lord Ravenſworth declared againſt the meaſures of government from firſt to laſt, in carrying on a war with America; he quoted a variety of inſtances from 1741, to ſhew that former adminiſtrations always gave a full account to the people, as ſoon as it arrived, of all the operations of war; and if the ordinary Gazette was printed but a few hours before the arrival of freſh intelligence, an extraordinary Gazette was printed in the middle of the night. But in order to obviate the objection made by Lord Suffolk, about diſcloſing the future operations of the campaign, he propoſed an amendment to the motion, by adding the words, "ſo far as does not relate to the future operations of the campaign."

Lord Suffolk roſe to declare, that for the reaſons he had given before, he ſhould ſtill object to the motion, as he ſhould have done if the preſent amendment had ſtood part of it.

Lord Weymouth ſaid a few words againſt the motion; obſerved, the account already given was ſufficient; and added, he was warranted to ſay, there was no convention for ſparing the town, or imbarking the troops.

The Duke of Manchester acquieſced in the amendment, and declared, it was of no moment how the queſtion was put, as adminiſtration had now declared, that that Houſe ſhould have no information, no anſwer whatever to any requeſt, however reaſonably or moderately propoſed. As this was the caſe, in confirmation of the grounds of his motion, he read a private letter from Philadelphia, mentioning a convention (though not ſigned) between Gen. Howe and Gen. Waſhington; the bombarding of Boſton; the advantageous ſituation of the rebels to play on the town; the expectation at Philadelphia of twenty commiſſioners from England to treat of peace, and the improbability of their ſucceſs, as the Americans were greatly incenſed againſt the King and the miniſtry for giving orders to arm the Indian tribes againſt them, and encouraging the black ſlaves to riſe and cut the throats of their maſters.

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The Duke of Bolton wiſhed the amendment had been confined to the evacuation of Boſton; he complained of the ſtrange method of carrying on the war, as we ſupplied the enemy all the time with warlike ſtores and other neceſſaries, owing to the negligence or miſmanagement of the maſter-general of the ordnance; for the only mortar with which the rebel-army bombarded Boſton was furniſhed them by us; the maſter of an ordnance-veſſel with this and other ammunition on board being ſent out unarmed, though he had written to the board of ordnance to be properly armed, but was refuſed.

Lord Sandwich roſe to vindicate the maſter-general of the ordnance, Lord Townſhend, as he was abſent. He ſaid the veſſel went out under convoy, therefore there was no neceſſity for her to be armed; that ſhe parted from her convoy in ſtreſs of weather, and the ſame happened to her afterwards under two more convoys, till at laſt ſhe was driven aſhore, and fell into the hand of the rebels.

The Duke of Bolton replied, by deſiring to be informed, if it was not cuſtomary to ſend theſe veſſels out armed; if it had not been done before, and ever ſince.

The motion with the amendment was now put, and a diviſion enſued; Non-contents 64, Contents 27.

On the 13th of May Lord Effingham moved, That the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms ſhould lay before the Houſe copies of licences; and of entries of goods and merchandiſes exported to America ſince the paſſing of the prohibitory act; —the ſame papers which had been under the conſideration of the Commons a few days before.— His Lordſhip prefaced his motion by a long ſpeech, in which he ſhewed the iniquity of perverting an act of parliament merely to ſerve the dirty purpoſes of jobbers; obſerving, that a Mr Anthony Merry was the perſon chiefly favoured by thoſe licences; that the exception in the act mentioned only proviſions and ſtores, but that Mr Anthony Merry had the addreſs to interpret ſtores and proviſions into the more ſpecific articles of mercery, millinery, haberdaſhery, teas, gauze, and blond caps, for the armament and decoration of the ladies.

Lord Sandwich declared, that the ſhipping the tea, cloth, nails, millinery, and mercery, was entirely unknown to the admiralty-board; that as ſoon as they heard of it, they immediately, not only prevented the further miſuſe of the licenſes, but cauſed all the goods that were ſhipped to be unloaded; that a difficulty had ariſen reſpecting the wording of the act of parliament; that the words "ſtores and proviſions" were ambiguous and indefinite in their meaning; that private merchants, totally unconnected with the admiralty-board, had taken advantage of the want of preciſion in the clauſe, and had attempted to ſend to America a conſiderable quantity of cloth, mercery, millinery, &c. His Lordſhip recapitulated the articles of lading; and after repeating, that all in office were innocent of the ſuppoſed charge, begged their Lordſhips to conſider the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and adviſed deferring the inquiry till an early day in the next ſeſſion of parliament; at the ſame time confeſſing, that he had not the leaſt fear of the ſtorm with which adminiſtration was threatened on this account; and to convince the Houſe that what he ſaid was the fact, he begged that the Noble Lord who made the motion, and every other Lord who choſe it, might be indulged with an inſpection of the papers mentioned in the motion, and every other paper likely to elucidate the matter.

Lord Effingham replied, that it was a little extraordinary, that the act of parliament ſhould be ſo worded, that even thoſe who contrived it, drew it up, and puſhed it through the Houſe, ſhould not underſtood the meaning of it. The Noble Nord had talked of an attack on adminiſtration,—it was very far from his meaning to arraign adminiſtration; if he had ſuch an idea, he ſhould have opened the matter in a very different way.— In his opinion the words *ſtores* and *proviſions* were by no means doubtful and ambiguous. If the Lords of the Admiralty, when they granted the licences, had been at a loſs to determine preciſely, what *ſtores* and *proviſions* were, they might have taken advice of their lawyers; they might have aſked any perſon acquainted with the army, with commiſſaries, or with fitting out an expedition. There were but two ſorts of ſtores, artillery-ſtores, and ordnance-ſtores, and he never yet heard that mercers, milliners, or woollen-drapers could furniſh either. And as to proviſions, men neither eat nails nor cloth; and indeed, if the latter was intended for the King's uſe, enough of it had been ſhipped to clothe an army

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of Dutchmen, who wore ten pair of breeches each.

Lord Lyttelton informed their Lordſhips, that he was preſent at the debate of the other Houſe on this ſubject; that he heard a variety of evidence given there, all of which tended to exculpate the admiralty-board, and to ſhew, that perſons totally unconnected with adminiſtration had taken advantage of a miſrepreſentation of the clauſe; but that, as ſoon as thoſe in office heard of the matter, they took effectual ſteps to prevent any further abuſe of the act, and relanded the cargoes of ſix ſhips; that only one ſo freighted had ſailed, beſides the hoſpital-ſhip, which it was taken for granted in the other Houſe had ſailed in ſtrict conformity to the act. His Lordſhip concluded with obſerving, that after ſitting till five in the morning, and loſing a day and a night, the Houſe of Commons, who were certainly much better judges of jobs, contracts, &c. than their Lordſhips, had diſmiſſed the inquiry as frivolous and unneceſſary.

The Duke of Manchester and the Marquis of Rockingham ſpoke in ſupport of the motion.

Lord Townſhend ſhewed, that nails were a neceſſary article of ſtores for the King's ſervice, and indeed it was impoſſible to do without them. He alſo urged the abſolute neceſſity of ſending conſiderable quantities of cloth to America, inſtancing the want of cloathing notorious laſt war throughout the army, during the campaign in Canada; and appealed to their Lordſhips, whether it was not eaſily accountable, that the Engliſh ladies, the officers wives, &c. who were not ſo averſe to tea as the Americans were, ſhould wiſh to have ſome on the other ſide the Atlantic.

After a debate of about two hours, the motion was carried without a diviſion.

Continuation of the debate on a motion for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, [174.]

Lord Sandwich ſaid, that there were never more willing officers, nor a better and more able liſt, than thoſe now in the navy. His Lordſhip rejoiced, that though many frigates would be ſtationed on the coaſt of America, the main ſtrength of the Britiſh navy would remain at home to guard us from all attacks that could be dreaded; and concluded with ſaying a word or two reſpecting the convicts and vagrants, allowing that, under a general deſcription, there might be ſome of the latter worth countenancing, but that there was a material diſtinction to be made between an honeſt pauper and a hardened jail-bird.

Lord Shelburne entered into a defence of the Americans, and endeavoured to prove, that they were driven by the hard hand of oppreſſion to their preſent military reſources. His Lordſhip, after aſſerting, that if adminiſtration would promiſe them only an exemption from taxation, and the reſtoration of their charters, they would inſtantly lay down their arms, and return to their duty, took infinite pains to remove every idea of their aiming at independency: declaring, that the enemies of America had not the ſlighteſt grounds for ſuch an inſinuation, but what they inferred from the printed declaration of the little and inſignificant county of Suffolk. He appealed to the language of the congreſs in all their publications; and laughed at the ridiculous conceit, that the Marquis de Montcalm (from whoſe book ſuch a falſe ſuppoſition was borrowed) ſhould know more of America, and the diſpoſition of the colonies, than we did. His Lordſhip ſaid, he had more than once read what that French officer had written on the ſubject; and he could not help ſaying, his book was one of the moſt flimſy, ill-founded productions, he ever peruſed. His Lordſhip aſked, how ſhould ſuch an author get his information? he had been employed in the French ſervice in Canada, but was no more to be depended upon than an officer who had been cooped up a whole winter at Boſton; that a true knowledge of America muſt be looked for at home; and that the coloniſts ought to be viewed as objects of our pity. He inſtanced an anecdote of the late King, who aſked a great lady in the circle at court, whether ſhe ſhould not be preſent at the trial of a Peer or Peereſs in Weſtminſter-hall, which was then likely ſoon to take place; to which the lady replied, "No, Sire; I ſaw the rebel-lords tried, and I'm contented with that." The King inſtantly ſaid, "Fie, fie, Madam, 'tis very different ting; tey tought tey were right, and died martyrs to teir opinion; te perſon now to be tried will not deſerve pity if found guilty." This, his Lordſhip obſerved, was a noble and generous ſentiment, worthy the prince who delivered it. He alſo remarked the humane

humane conduct of Henry IV. of France, at the battle of Dreaux, where he roared out at the head of the ranks till he was hoarſe, "Kill the foreigners, but ſave the French." —— The conſequence was, the Germans and others who abetted the rebellion, ſuffered greatly; but the lives of nearly all his own ſubjects were preſerved. When matters were adjuſted with America, (which they might, he thought, eaſily be, by means of the preſent motion), his Lordſhip obſerved, much would be left to the ſkill and arrangement of the miniſtry; that they might then diſplay their abilities and their judgement; that the ſettling the military was a vaſt thing, and would require great conſideration; and that America had a right to claim every immunity enjoyed by Ireland. Here his Lordſhip took occaſion to complain of the dangerous ſcheme of granting a ſeparate military eſtabliſhment to that country; he ſaid it was falſe policy to divide the power of the empire; that it ſhould center here, and that great miſchiefs might ariſe from weakening it, by ſeparating it into parts; it would be better, he added, for the Lord Lieutenant, to purchaſe a ſafe retreat, or an honourable page, in the book of fame, by emancipating the parliament of Ireland, and no longer cutting out its tongue by a ſyſtem of baſe and ſordid corruption; by relieving Ireland from the load of penſions with which it was burdened, and by ſuffering it to enjoy its own riches. — After ſaying this much in favour of a country, in which, his Lordſhip declared he ſincerely wiſhed freedom and happineſs might reign undiſturbed by party and power, he returned to the ſubject-matter of the debate, and obſerved our having acquainted Europe (as an ingenious foreigner had remarked to him) with two facts, of a nature highly injurious to the honour and the welfare of theſe dominions; namely, that we had neither tranſports enough to convey our troops to ſubdue our rebellious coloniſts, nor troops enough of our own to attempt the buſineſs when they arrived there; he urged the Lords to conſider what hints thoſe facts might convey to our natural enemies, and how much the more neceſſary it was now to put an end to a buſineſs, which held up to the minds of men a proſpect filled with every object which could terrify and alarm thoſe who viewed it. By way of enforcing this argument, he referred their Lordſhips to the ſpeech of the deputy for the province of Upper Yſſel, delivered in a full aſſembly of the States-General on the queſtion, "Whether his Britannic Majeſty's requeſt concerning the Scottiſh brigades in the ſervice of the republic ſhould be granted?" deeming it an honeſt ſenſible harangue, replete with information, and every way worthy their Lordſhips attention. Lord Shelburne concluded his ſpeech with urging the inadequateneſs of our militia and home force to guard the kingdom in caſe of an attack; and declared, that if ſuch terms were held out to America as produced a reconciliation, he would never again ſay a word on the ſubject in oppoſition to the King's miniſters.

Lord Lyttelton ſaid, he entertained a very high opinion of the ſpirited defence a Noble Earl (Hillſborough) had given of his conduct reſpecting America while he was in adminiſtration, but he thought he had gone a little too far in explanation of his letter to the colonies, as he did not conceive that any Lord ought to be deprived of his free agency in parliament by a promiſe made by others in office. For his part, he ſolemnly proteſted againſt foregoing the claim of taxation, a claim inherent in the Britiſh parliament, which neither argument nor arms could remove. He allowed, that it might be inexpedient to carry ſuch a claim into exertion at this moment, and probably it might ſhow the wiſdom of the legiſlature to wave it for ſome time; but he never would conſent entirely to abandon it. The motion before the Houſe, his Lordſhip obſerved, was a motion, which, if carried, would degrade the dignity of parliament, and ſink us to a moſt contemptible depth of diſgrace. What! ſhew to all Europe, that with a force prepared to ſubdue our rebellious coloniſts, who had deſtroyed our courts of juſtice, contemned our laws, invaded the natural rights of mankind, and made war upon the empire, we were afraid to purſue the objects for which the force was levied, and condeſcended to an infamous, a cowardly treaty! Allowing for a moment that it was prudent, that it was humane, that it was equitable, to come to a treaty, with whom were we to treat? The congreſs we all here knew to be the body of delegates from the ſeveral provinces of America; would any Lord appear ſo inſenſible of his own honour, as to ſtand forward the adviſer of the King to conſider the congreſs as a legal aſſembly?

bly? — the congreſs, whoſe publications breathe the moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance, rebellion, and treaſon; whoſe ſyſtem of government is founded on the groſſeſt tyranny and deſpotiſm; who, in the very moment that they have the preſumption to ſay they contend only for liberty and freedom, are countenancing the moſt unprecedented and indefenſible violations of both? Let the Lords who are advocates for America conſider the caſe of the New-York printer, as ſtated [172.] by the Noble Earl near him [Sandwich], let them bring that man's hard lot home to their own breaſts, and then let them conſider how properly they uſed the terms equity, humanity, and juſtice, when they urged them as pleas for the rebels. His Lordſhip, after very warmly contending, that it would be the moſt impolitic ſtep that could poſſibly be ſuggeſted to ſtop the vigorous exertion of our armament, and that it would afford time for the ſeeds of rebellion diffeminated throughout the American continent, to ripen into full maturity, and to grow to ſuch an enormous height, that it would perhaps be a vain attempt for us another year to aim at eradicating it, gave his hearty negative to the motion.

The Biſhop of Peterborough followed Lord Lyttelton; and began with expreſſing his hopes, that their Lordſhips would not think him a buſy meddler in politics if he ſaid a word or two on the preſent motion, which appeared to be founded on ſo humane a principle, that it behoved him, as a lover of peace, and a friend of mankind, to give it all poſſible ſupport. His Lordſhip declared, he had attended with great minuteneſs to all the arguments urged againſt it; and although every Lord in office profeſſed to wiſh earneſtly for an accommodation, yet the main purport of what had been ſaid by them, appeared to be a coincidence of ſentiment, that nothing ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion would be accepted, and that adminiſtration were reſolved to puſh matters to the laſt extremity. As a ground for ſo fatal a reſolution, ſome Lords had taken infinite pains to ſhew, that independency was the real aim of the colonies, and that therefore it was neceſſary, by force of arms, to reduce them to ſubjection, and convince them of the ſuperiority of the mother-country. He gave full credit to the ingenuity of the ſpeakers who maintained this doctrine, but he thought it incumbent upon him to deliver it as his conſcientious opinion, that the general idea of the coloniſts was not a ſeparation from this country. In times of public diſtraction the cry for independency might ſpring up as one of the hydra heads, which it was natural to expect would grow out of that monſter, civil tumult; but it was unfair to hold it up as the general expreſſion of a people ſo numerous as the inhabitants of North America. His Lordſhip aſcribed the preſent unhappy quarrel to the fatal meaſures reſpecting the ſtamp-act; and he flattered himſelf, that were the preſent motion carried, all might yet be well. To induce their Lordſhips to accord with it, the Biſhop ſhowed the falſe policy of relying merely on ſuperior ſtrength, denying that power and right were ſynonymous terms, and deſcribing the good ſenſe and ſucceſs of all ages and all climes who attended more to the latter than to the former. His Lordſhip here entered into a diſquiſition of the general nature of government, inſtancing the manner in which Imperial Rome at the æra of its greateſt ſplendor conducted itſelf to its coloniſts; and proving, by arguments founded on reaſon, and hiſtorical fact, that as the baſis of all government was public opinion, a proper attention was neceſſary to be paid to the voice of the people; that in fact votes of parliament, and legiſlature itſelf, were terms without meaning or weight, if the majority of thoſe who were governed entertained a bad opinion of their governors, and were diſpoſed to reſiſt their authority. His Lordſhip ſaid, in ſuch caſes the Romans thought it prudent to relax ſomewhat of their ſeverity of ſyſtem, and that they have always found their advantage in hearing and redreſſing the grievances complained of.

Lord Gower ſpoke againſt the motion, and made ſome few remarks on the letter written by Lord Hillſborough in 1769, which had been referred to by the Duke of Richmond. In order to ſhow, that a ſpeedy end to the diſpute was more likely to be procured by coercive meaſures, than by lenitive and ill-timed moderation, his Lordſhip read a letter to the governor of a refractory colony, written by a member of adminiſtration in 1761, which threatened puniſhment for diſobedience, and which immediately produced the deſired effect. His

Lordſhip then went into a view of the conduct of the Americans, as far as it led to confirm the idea of their wiſh for independency; and begged leave to remind the Noble Lord (Shelburne) who ſaid, that the little county of Suffolk *only* mentioned ſuch a word, that the voice of the little county of Suffolk was heard and approved of by the general congreſs, who by their approbation of it made the meaſure their own; that therefore he deduced his information, that America aimed at independence from the congreſs itſelf, which he believed the Lords in oppoſition would allow to be the fountain-head of American intelligence.

Lord Camden took a curſory view of the arguments of the Lords in office, and ſaid, he obſerved they all talked of conciliation, and accommodation; but apparently with little meaning, as their language and their ſyſtem were diametrically oppoſite. The word *accommodation*, his Lordſhip recollected, was uſed by Bardolph, in Shakeſpeare's play, where the old ſoldier learnedly reſolves that *accommodation* meant to *accommodate*; this interpretation, he added, was to the full as ſignificant as any that could reaſonably be put upon the word as uſed in the preſent debate. The Noble Duke's motion was framed with a deſign to draw out from adminiſtration what their plan was, and how they intended to proceed; he was ſorry to find, that they had not chalked out any certain line of conduct, but meant to truſt in a great meaſure to the chapter of accidents: he begged them to recollect the danger of ſuch conduct, and deſired to be informed what aſſurances they had that France and Spain would not take advantage of our defenceleſs ſtate:—if they had ſuch aſſurances, he warned them to remember the faithleſſneſs of thoſe powers, and to be upon their guard. His Lordſhip, after generally holding out a picture of the enormous expence and fatal conſequences of the war, if purſued for another year, (and it would, he was convinced, continue much longer), came to a particular inquiry into the criminality of the Americans, which naturally induced him to view the ſtatutes 25° Edw. III. and the 6° Edw. V. on the ſubjects of treaſon and rebellion: he cited the preamble to the latter, and afterwards quoted the preamble of an act of Queen , repealing that of Edw. V. in which it was ſet forth, (in purport), "That the Queen's Majeſty being conſcious, that the ſafety of her perſon, and the greatneſs of her dignity, depended more on the natural love of her ſubjects, than on any forced appearance of loyalty, thought it right to repeal a ſtatute by the interpretation of which divers nobles had ſuffered death," &c. His Lordſhip hence took occaſion to point out the legal conſtruction of the conduct of the coloniſts, and dwelt for ſome time on their being at preſent in the King's peace. After the exhibition of much law, his Lordſhip deſired to know, what ſort of power that was which the commiſſioners were to be inveſted with, under the laſt clauſe of the reſtraining act. He was aware that his Majeſty had a right to pardon, but he did not conceive that the power of pardoning in the lump could be delegated without ſome certain and deſcribed limits. The wording of the clauſe was doubtful and undeciſive, and he conceived the commander in chief, who took upon himſelf to pardon a whole colony at his own diſcretion, would run the hazard of his neck for want of legal authority; he wiſhed therefore [looking at Lord Mansfield] to have the meaning of the clauſe explained: and as the war was clearly a legiſlative one, in which the King was leſs concerned than the parliament, he adviſed their Lordſhips to ſtrengthen the clauſe by a new act. Having, for a conſiderable time, ſpoke upon this particular clauſe, his Lordſhip returned to the object of the war, and begged to know, whether it was not in plain ſincerity, merely to increaſe the influence of the crown, (he would not ſay the power of corruption, becauſe *corruption* was no longer the polite term, *influence* being ſubſtituted as a more faſhionable word). He deſired their Lordſhips to conſider, that the King's miniſters had talked of the public's poſſeſſing a vaſt and wealthy territory when they took the Eaſt-India company's affairs into their hands, and yet it appeared that the crown was the only gainer. The crown had the appointment of all the officers of the company. A letter from adminiſtration ſettled that paltry, powerleſs board, the board of directors, and the crown would doubtleſs ſeize the whole power and property the firſt opportunity; for what therefore were the public expending ſo much money, and

hazarding

hazarding ſo many lives, but merely to add ſo many new placemen, and to increaſe the liſt of penſioners? From this queſtion his Lordſhip urged the neceſſity of ending the quarrel on the ground of intereſt; and he repeated, that as this was a war of parliament, or a legiſlative war, it particularly behoved parliament to interfere; and to interfere properly, not like the inſidious *conciliatory propoſition*, as it was termed, which was laſt year ſmuggled to America from the other Houſe, without either the concurrence or the knowledge of their Lorſhips, a circumſtance which might one day become a neceſſary object of their Lordſhips inquiry. The Noble Duke's motion, he ſaid, was likely to produce good conſequences; if it did not therefore entirely pleaſe in its preſent ſhape, alter it, new-mould it, but for the ſake of poſterity let ſome meaſure be adopted to check the effuſion of blood. Thoſe in office who effected ſo ſalutary, ſo laudable a purpoſe, would deſerve to have ſtatues erected in honour of them: if, however, blind to the picture of horror which the impending war preſented, and deaf to the loud voice of humanity, they ſtill perſiſted in the ruinous and deſtructive meaſures adopted, woe be unto the adviſers of thoſe meaſures when the day of inquiry came, and come it ſoon inevitably muſt.

Lord Mansfield obſerved, that till the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, had ſo fully explained what the two Noble Dukes meant by appealing to him, he could not conceive what they alluded to. He was now called upon to anſwer a queſtion, which, was it not exceedingly obvious, he could not have ſpoken to, as he was not at the drawing up of the reſtraining act, and knew very little about it till the ſecond reading of it, when he came late into the Houſe, and took it up, as it lay upon the table, to peruſe during the debate. He recollected there were at that time but two doubts; the one was about the adjudication of the prizes, and the other about the delegating commiſſioners to pardon ſuch colonies as returned to their allegiance. With regard to the firſt, he remembered, that it was urged on the part of adminiſtration, that as America was now *de facto* an independent ſtate, and at war, it was neceſſary to treat them as enemies, but not to forego the title of rebels; and as rebellion without the realm was a new caſe, it was neceſſary to ſettle the adjudication of captures by a new act of parliament. The other doubt reſted ſolely upon the different opinons reſpecting the King's right to delegate his prerogative of pardoning rebellion and treaſon to a commiſſioner or commiſſioners. If he at all underſtood the argument of the Noble Lord who ſpoke before him, he had laboured to prove, that the King had no right to pardon, and conſequently no power to commiſſion others to do it for him; than which nothing could be more falſe. It was a known, and the moſt glorious part of the prerogative of the crown, to interfere between the ſentence and the execution of the law: the King had a clear conſtitutional right to delegate that power; it was delegated in various inſtances at this time; and the clauſe of the reſtraining act, which had been alluded to in the debate, was founded upon cuſtom and upon precedent. With regard to the power of the commiſſioners, it was neceſſarily diſcretional; it depended much upon circumſtances; and they certainly muſt act as appeared beſt to them, for the honour and dignity of the kingdom; at the ſame time knowing themſelves liable to the cenſure of parliament, and to puniſhment, if they made a wrong uſe of their power, or abuſed the authority with which they were inveſted: The words "well diſpoſed" appeared to him extremly explicit. If any colony or colonies expreſſed a deſire of returning to their allegiance, and confeſſing the ſupremacy of the mother-country, they would then doubtleſs be thought "well diſpoſed;" the commiſſioners would iſſue a proclamation of pardon to ſuch colony or colonies; and they would be deemed in the King's peace, be acknowledged as his ſubjects, reſtored to a free trade, and ſaved from the reſtrictions of the act of parliament.——Having fully explained this matter, his Lordſhip obſerved, that every propoſition relative to the American ſubjects had been argued, and dwelt upon, in the courſe of the debate, but that propoſition which the motion held forth. — Much had been ſaid relative to the tea-act: there was not a word in the motion about the tea-act of 1769. — A great deal had come from one of the ſupporters of the motion about the navy: there was not a word about the navy in the motion. — Another Lord talked of convicts and vagrants: there was no alluſion to convicts and vagrants in the motion. — A third mentioned the Marquis de Montcalm; a fourth the Eaſt-India company;

company; a fifth the military arrangement of Ireland: all matters foreign to the motion.—His Lordſhip declared, that he had, when he came to the Houſe, no intention of ſpeaking in the debate; but as he was up, he would now ſay a word or two, and that ſhould be to the motion. And he would not ſay a great deal, becauſe he perfectly coincided with a Noble Lord, who ſpoke much like a ſtateſman, and a friend to his country, on Friday laſt; and who declared, "that as there was now much to be done, it was neceſſary that the leſs ſhould be ſaid." The wiſdom of this obſervation, his Lordſhip declared, was great; there was nothing more true, than that every thing ſaid in parliament was immediately wafted to America, and converted to the purpoſe of counteracting the meaſures to which it related: add to this, the frivolity of ſome parts of parliamentary debate threw an air of inconſideration and levity upon the the moſt ſerious ſubject.—On the preſent occaſion, it had been argued, that the war with America, was legiſlative;—ſo was the ſucceſſion to the crown; the King's title was ſettled by act of parliament;—how idle therefore to dwell upon matters ſo trifling, and of ſo little conſequence?—"This country (continued his Lordſhip) is now at a very tremendous criſis; juſt commencing a war of a nature entirely new; a war that muſt neceſſarily be very expenſive, and the iſſue of which no one can foretell. It is but too true, that the kingdom will in a great meaſure be left defenceleſs, that we have been reduced to the neceſſity of hiring foreign troops, and ſending to the ports of other kingdoms for tranſports; but how, my Lords, were theſe circumſtances to be avoided? America has rebelled; America is in arms, not defenſively, but offenſively; even if we were willing to ceaſe hoſtilities, they are not; we muſt therefore act with vigour, and we muſt at leaſt ſhew ourſelves determined to ſurmount their oppoſition. Happy would it be for us, my Lords, if any means could be deviſed of ending the quarrel without bloodſhed; but does the preſent motion tend to ſuch an effect? Without attemping to ſave a ſhilling of the enormous expence the nation has been at in providing the preſent armament, he allows that the troops ſhall all go, and when they arrive in America it ties up their hands.—What then?—Why, then, commiſſioners are to treat with the congreſs; they are to prepare a petition of grievances, which the commiſſioners are to bring to England.—The congreſs will laugh in their ſleeves at our folly; they'll reprint their declaration of war under the new title of a petition, (for that ſtates what they term their grievances); we ſhall loſe a campaign, of which loſs they'll take infinite advantage, and next ſpring we ſhall have the whole to begin again. This, my Lords, I conceive, will be the iſſue of the preſent motion, were it carried; I therefore oppoſe it as nugatory, ill-timed, and ineffectual."

Lord Camden replied to Lord Mansfield, and denied that he had ſaid the King had no right to pardon; he only queſtioned the diſcretional authority of the commiſſioners under the laſt clauſe of the reſtraining act; his doubts of which were by no means removed from what his Lordſhip had ſaid on the occaſion, although he had ſpoken as if he had been the father of the reſtraining Act, rather than the caſual defender of it: he declared, he ſtill thought, that without a new act of parliament, expreſsly limiting and deſcribing how far the commiſſioners were authoriſed to go, that thoſe (whether commander in chief, or commiſſioners) who dared to pardon any colony, would do it at the riſk of their lives.

Lord Weymouth ſpoke chiefly in anſwer to that part of Lord Camden's ſpeech, which mentioned the aſſurances from France and Spain: his Lordſhip declared thoſe courts had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their pacific intentions towards G. Britain; and that he was certain France had it not in her power at preſent to attempt any meaſure likely to involve her in war.

The Duke of Grafton obſerved, that ſome Lords, from preſiding in the courts below, and being uſed to ſee a matter placed in fifty falſe lights, had acquired a knack of holding up the weak parts of a debate ludicrouſly, and would rather reſort to ridicule than fair argument; this ſeemed to have been the caſe with the learned Lord, who had triumphed ſo much on the preſent occaſion, by pointing out that part of the debate, which, though it naturally aroſe in the courſe of argument, was not immediately in point. His Grace acknowledged, he felt himſelf hurt at finding a queſtion of the moſt ſerious and ſolemn nature, treated in ſo light and trivial a manner; he therefore hoped their Lordſhips would excuſe his warmth; he had

had too much reſpect to parliament to offer any motion which did not merit their attention, and he could not now help being affected, when a motion, framed with particular care that it might leave the ſubject open, and not preclude an agreement with it on the principle of limited expreſſion, was to be laughed away: he begged their Lordſhips to obſerve, that he had particularly avoided mentioning the congreſs, that the term might not offend, or create an objection; he was willing even yet to omit, alter, or amend, ſo that the main deſign might be anſwered; he intreated, therefore, it might be conſidered, that the honour of parliament and the welfare of the kingdom were at ſtake; that the preſent was probably the only moment for pauſing that could be ſnatched at; and that the conſequences of not making a proper uſe of this opportunity might be dreadful.

The queſtion being put, the numbers were, Contents 28, proxies 3, in all 31; Non-contents 71, proxies 20, in all 91.

The Yearly Epiſtle of the Quakers met in London in 1776, to the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends and Brethren.

Dearly beloved Friends and Brethren,

IN the love and fellowſhip of the goſpel we tenderly ſalute you, as partakers of the like precious faith with us; and hereby acquaint you, that we have renewed occaſion to acknowledge the gracious extenſion of divine goodneſs to us in this our large and ſolemn aſſembly; by which the ſouls of men have been refreſhed and edified, and ability received to tranſact the affairs of the church in much brotherly love and concord.

The amount of friends ſufferings brought in this year, from the counties in England and Wales, being principally for tithes, and thoſe called church-rates, is three thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds; and thoſe from Ireland, one thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds.

By accounts received from the ſeveral quarterly meetings in England, and by epiſtles from Wales, North Britain, Ireland, and Holland, we have information, that love and unity are generally preſerved; that the merciful viſitations of divine grace are ſtill continued, and appear eminently extended to the youth amongſt us, as well as to many of other profeſſions in ſeveral parts, divers of whom have been admitted into membership with us through convincement.

By epiſtles received from ſeveral of the provinces in America, we have affecting information of the ſtate of friends in thoſe parts; and deeply ſympathize with the faithful, whereſoever they are ſituated, under their afflictions, and fervently deſire, that this ſeaſon of outward probation may be ſanctified to all. We are ſenſible it muſt try the foundations of many, and, we truſt, it may bring again to the fold ſome, who, during a long enjoyment of eaſe and tranquillity, in thoſe once happy and flouriſhing countries, have incautiouſly wandered, till they have almoſt forgotten the true Shepherd of the flock, Chriſt Jeſus.

It is worthy of the ſerious conſideration of all, whether the calamities now deeply affecting this great empire, may not have been permitted by Divine Providence, in diſpleaſure, on account of the accumulated tranſgreſſions of the people. Let all, therefore, honeſtly and ſtrictly inquire, how far they have individually contributed thereto.

And, dear friends, we earneſtly recommend it to all, humbly to bow themſelves before the Lord of the univerſe, craving his divine aſſiſtance, and the preſervation of the faithful of every denomination; fervently deſiring that he may grant repentance and forgiveneſs to thoſe who have long lived in forgetfulneſs of the God who formed them for a purpoſe of his glory, and of Chriſt their holy Redeemer.

Let us humbly retire to that bleſſed principle of ſtrength and wiſdom, the grace of God, manifeſted in our hearts; that, through a ſtrict adherence thereunto, we may be favoured to experience it to be as a munition of rocks, and a ſure hiding-place, to which the righteous flee, and are ſafe, in every time of trial; that, in like manner with the evangelical prophet, we may be enabled truly to ſay, "I will truſt, and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my ſtrength, and my ſong, he alſo is become my ſalvation." Iſ. xii. 2.

Finally, brethren, keep in ſingleneſs of heart, and reſignation of ſoul to the Almighty, that he may bleſs and repleniſh you with that perfect love which caſteth out all fear. Then ſhall ye be at peace in yourſelves, and one with another, and "the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding, ſhall keep your hearts and minds, through Jeſus Chriſt." Phil. iv. 7.

Signed in and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting, by THOMAS RUTTER, Clerk to the Meeting this year.

AMEN.

AMERICA. [257.]

From the London Gazette.

"*Admiralty-office, June 8.* By letters from Vice-Adm. Shuldham, dated at Halifax, the 25th of April laſt, it appears, that on the 15th of that month, Capt. Furneaux of the Syren, one of the frigates under his command, took a brigantine belonging to the rebels, which was carrying, from Philadelphia to Charleſtown in South Carolina, a company of artillery, conſiſting of a captain, commiſſioned by the continental congreſs, and 79 men; moſt of whom have ſince entered into his Majeſty's ſervice with Gen. Clinton. It alſo appears, that the other cruiſers of his ſquadron had intercepted and taken forty-four merchant ſhips and veſſels belonging to his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects in North America; and that Capt Barclay, of the Scarborough, who had been ſent to Savannah, in the province of Georgia, for proviſions, had liberated thirteen veſſels richly laden, which had been ſeized and detained there by the rebels. And the Admiral tranſmits, with the above-mentioned letters, the following account which he had received from Capt. Tyringham Howe, of his engagement in the Glaſgow with five armed ſhips and veſſels of the rebels, viz.

"On Saturday the 6th of April, 1776, at two, a. m. Block iſland, then bearing N. W. about eight leagues, we diſcovered a fleet on the weather-beam, conſiſting of ſeven or eight ſail; tacked and ſtood towards them; and ſoon perceived them to be two or three large ſhips and other ſquare-rigged veſſels; turned all hands to quarters, hauled up the main-ſail, and kept ſtanding to the N. W. with a light breeze, and ſmooth water, the fleet then coming down before it. At half paſt two, a large brig came within hail, and ſeemed to heſitate about giving any anſwer; but ſtill kept ſtanding towards us; and, on being aſked, what other ſhips were in company with her, they anſwered, *The Columbus, and Alfred, a 22 gun frigate.* And almoſt immediately a hand granadoe was thrown out of her top. We exchanged our broadſides. She then ſhot ahead, and lay on our bow, to make room for a large ſhip, with a top-light, to come on our broadſide, and another ſhip ran under our ſtern, raked as ſhe paſſed, and then luft up on our lee-beam, whilſt a brig took her ſtation on our larboard-quarter; and a ſloop kept altering her ſtation occaſionally. At four the ſtation of every veſſel was altered, as the two ſhips had dropt on each quarter, and a brig kept aſtern, giving a continual fire. Bore away, and made ſail for Rhode iſland, with the whole fleet within muſket-ſhot on our quarters and ſtern. Got two ſtern-chace guns out of the cabin, and kept giving and receiving a very warm fire. At day-light perceived the rebel fleet to conſiſt of two ſhips, two brigs, and a ſloop, and a large ſhip and a ſnow which kept to windward as ſoon as the action began. At half paſt ſix the fleet hauled their wind, and at ſeven tacked and ſtood to the S. S. W. We had one man killed and three wounded by the muſquetry from the enemy."

The following is a ſtate of the rebel armed veſſels above mentioned.

Alfred, commaned by Hopkins, 20 nine-pounders on the lower, 6 ten-pounders on the upper deck; 220 men, including 60 marines.

Columbus, commanded by Whipple, 18 nine-pounders on the lower, 10 ſix-pounders on the upper deck; 220 men, inclucing 60 marines.

Annadona brig, commanded by Biddle, 16 ſix-pounders on the upper deck; 138 men, including 30 marines.

Cabot brig, commanded by Hopkins jun. 14 ſix pounders on the upper deck; 120 men, including 30 marines.

Providence ſloop, commanded by Hazard, 12 ſix-pounders on the upper deck; 90 men, including 28 marines.

The Glaſgow had 20 guns, nine-pounders, and 150 men.

By letters lately received from Vice-Adm. Young, dated at Antigua the 3d of March, and from Vice-Adm. Gayton, dated at Jamaica the 28th of that month, it likewiſe appears, that the cruiſers under the command of the former had ſeized twenty-ſix, and thoſe under the command of the latter nine ſhips and veſſels, either belonging to or employed in carrying on a trade with his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects in North America."

Gaz. Extr. "*Whitehall, June 10.* This morning, Major Caldwell, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Britiſh militia in Canada, arrived from Quebec, in his Majeſty's ſloop Hunter; by whom was received the following letter from General Carleton to Lord George Germaine, together

together with the copy of a letter from General Carleton to General Howe.

"My Lord, *Quebec, May* 14. 1776.

After this town had been closely invested by the rebels for five months, and had defeated all their attempts, the Surprise frigate, Isis, and sloop Martin, came into the bason, the 6th instant.

As soon as that part of the 29th they had on board, with their marines, in all about 200, were landed, they, with the greatest part of the garrison, by this time much improved, and in high spirits, marched out of the ports of St Louis and St John's to see what those mighty boasters were about. They were found very busy in their preparations for a retreat: a few shots being exchanged, the line marched forward, and the plains were soon cleared of those plunderers: all their artillery, military stores, scaling-ladders, petards, &c. &c. were abandoned. The Surprise, Martin, and a province armed vessel, went up the river; when they also quitted the Gaspé, and the armed schooner Mary. The rear of the rebels have halted at Dechambault; and the Surprise, with the other two vessels, are a little upon this side of the falls of Richelieu.

This ended our siege and blockade; during which the mixed garrison of soldiers, sailors, British and Canadian militia, with the artificers from Halifax and Newfoundland, shewed great zeal and patience, under very severe duty, and uncommon vigilance, indispensable in a place liable to be stormed, besides great labour necessary to render such attempts less practicable.

Notwithstanding the inclement season, they preserved good health, and their spirits increased every day. A copy of my letter to General Howe will inform your Lordship of our situation to the defeat of the rebels upon the 31st of December.

For three months after they confined their operations to the preventing all supplies from coming to town, and in burning our suburbs and shipping. The latter have almost all escaped; but the greatest part of the suburbs of St Roque and St John have been burnt; the remainder was brought into town for fuel, which was much wanted.

The beginning of February, the rebels again attempted to enter into a correspondence by a flag of truce; encouraged to it, I suppose, by a permission granted for the prisoners baggage to enter the town: but as they were told immediately to withdraw, unless they came to implore the King's mercy, they have not since returned.

March 25. the advance-guard of a party raised by Mr Beaujeau to relieve the town, was defeated, the rest dispersed. The 31st, it was discovered, that the rebel-prisoners had formed a plot to escape, to seize the guard of St John's gate, and let in Mr Arnold; which was effectually disappointed.

The 4th of April, the rebels opened a battery of four guns and one howitzer from the opposite side of the river St Laurence; and the 22d, another of two guns and one howitzer from the opposite side of the river St Charles. These were also intended to burn the town and shipping. From both they fired red-hot balls. The 23d they attempted throwing some shells into town from a battery on the heights opposite to Port St Louis. All these batteries were much damaged by our artillery.

May 3. about ten at night, a fireship attempted to run into the Cul-de-Sac, where the greatest part of our shipping were laid up; but this also proved abortive, and she burned to the water's edge, without doing us the least injury. It is supposed they intended a general assault, had they succeeded in setting fire to the ships and lower town.

I cannot conclude this letter, without doing justice to Lt-Col. Maclean, who has been indefatigably zealous in the King's service, and to his regiment, wherein he has collected a number of experienced good officers, who have been very useful. Colonel Hamilton, (Captain of his Majesty's ship Lizard), who commanded the battalion of seamen, his officers, and men, discharged their duty with great alacrity and spirit. The same thing must be acknowledged of the masters, inferior officers, and seamen belonging to his Majesty's transports, and merchantmen detained here last fall: only one seaman deserted the whole time. The militia, British and Canadian, behaved with a steadiness and resolution that could hardly have been expected from men unused to arms. Judges, and other officers of government, as well as merchants, chearfully submitted to every inconvenience, to preserve the town. The whole, indeed, upon the occasion, shewed a spirit and

perseverance

perſeverance that do them great honour.

The 47th, from Halifax, and the greateſt part of the 29th, are ſince arrived.

Major Caldwell, who commanded the Britiſh militia all winter, as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, and is bearer of theſe diſpatches to your Lordſhip, has proved himſelf a faithful ſubject of his Majeſty, and an active diligent officer. He, and indeed almoſt every loyal ſubject, are very conſiderable ſufferers by the preſent hoſtile invaſion.—I am, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Carleton to Gen. Howe, dated Quebec, Jan. 12. 1776.

"SIR,

THE 5th of December Mr Montgomery took poſt at St Croix, within leſs than two miles of Quebec, with ſome field-artillery; his heavy cannon were landed at Caprouge: at the ſame time Arnold's party took poſſeſſion of the other avenues leading to the town, and prevented all communication with the country. The 7th, a woman ſtole into town with letters addreſſed to the principal merchants, adviſing them to an immediate ſubmiſſion, and promiſing great indulgence in caſe of their compliance. Incloſed was a letter to me in very extraordinary language [134], and a ſummons to deliver up the town. The meſſenger was ſent to priſon for a few days, and drummed out.

To give more efficacy to theſe letters, five ſmall mortars were brought to St Rock's, and a battery of five cannon and one howitzer raiſed upon the heights within about 700 yards of the walls. Soon after Arnold appeared with a white flag, ſaid he had a letter for me; but was refuſed admittance, and ordered to carry back his letter.

After every preparatory ſtratagem had been uſed to intimidate our wretched garriſon, as Mr Montgomery was pleaſed to call it, an aſſault was given the 31ſt of December, between four and five in the morning, during a ſnow-ſtorm from the north-eaſt. The alarm was general: From the ſide of the river St Laurence, along the fortified front, round to the baſon, every part ſeemed equally threatened. Two real attacks took place upon the lower town: One under Cape Diamond, led by Mr Montgomery; the other by Mr Arnold, upon the part called the Saut au Matelot. This at firſt met with ſome ſucceſs, but in the end was ſtopped. A ſally from the upper town, under Capt. Laws, attacked their rear, and ſent in many priſoners: Capt. M'Dougal afterwards reinforced this party, and followed the rebels into the poſt they had taken. Thus Mr Arnold's corps, himſelf and a few others excepted, who were wounded and carried off early, were completely ruined. They were caught as it were in a trap: we brought in their five mortars and one cannon. The other attack was ſoon repulſed with ſlaughter. Mr Montgomery was left among the dead.

The rebels have, on this aſſault, between 6 and 700 men, and between forty and fifty officers, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. We had only one lieutenant of the navy, doing duty as a captain in the garriſon, and four rank and file, killed, and thirteen rank and file wounded: two of the latter are ſince dead.

You will be pleaſed to tranſmit a copy of my letter to the Secretary of State, by the firſt opportunity, for his Majeſty's information, &c.

G. C."

"*Admiralty-office, June* 11. By letters from Capt. Douglas, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Iſis, dated Quebec, the 8th and 15th of May, received yeſterday by Capt. Hamilton, late of the Lizard, who arrived from thence in his Majeſty's ſloop the Hunter, it appears, that the Iſis, which ſailed from Portland on the 11th of March, having ſuccours on board for the relief of the place, made the iſland of St Peter's on the 11th of April; that he had from thence with the greateſt difficulty made his way, preſſing the ſhip by force of ſail for fifty or ſixty leagues through large fields of thick ice; that on the 21ſt of April, when he got clear of the ice, he made the iſland of Anticoſtie, and the ſame evening entered the river St Lawrence; that on the 30th he anchored in a ſnow-ſtorm, near the Pilgrim iſlands, and from thence, as the ſtorm cleared up, obſerved ſucceſſive ſmokes from cape to cape towards Quebec; and that, after various obſtacles from fogs, calms, or contrary winds, he arrived on the 3d of May near Iſle aux Coudres; where he was joined by his Majeſty's ſhip the Surpriſe, and Martin ſloop, which ſailed on the 20th of March from Plymouth, having likewiſe ſuccours on board. Capt. Douglas adds, that having ſecured here all the French pilots, and every hour becoming

coming more and more precious, he gave orders on the 5th of May to Capt. Linzee, of the Surprise, to make the best of his way, and give notice to Gov. Carleton of the approaching relief. Capt. Linzee arrived in view of the town at six o'clock the next morning; and after answering the private signals from the garrison, came to an anchor in the bason of Quebec, between the rebel-battery on Point Levi and the lower town; where the Isis and Martin came to an anchor also, very soon after; and the several detachments they had on board were immediately landed. Capt. Douglas further observes, that the General, wisely availing himself of the different impressions which the arrival of the ships had made on the minds of the rebels, marched out to give them battle; but that they as instantly retreated: on which Capt. Douglas ordered Capt. Linzee and Capt. Harvey of the Martin sloop, with a province armed vessel, to proceed up the river as far as the Rapids, in hopes to annoy them in their retreat; which was attended with good effect, as it hindered the parties on the opposite sides of the river from joining in their flight towards Montreal. He represents their flight to have been very precipitate, as they left not only their cannon undischarged, their ammunition, scaling-ladders, intrenching-tools, and provisions, but even many of them their musquets.

The Surprise and Martin were farther successful in taking an armed schooner belonging to the rebels, carrying four six-pounders and six three-pounders; but the men escaped into the woods. They also recovered his Majesty's schooner the Gaspee, which in the last winter had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and had been sunk by them, but was soon weighed, and found to be not materially damaged. It also appears, from Capt. Douglas's letters, that on the 8th of May his Majesty's ship Niger arrived with three transports, having on board the 47th regiment, from Halifax; and that on the 10th, Capt. Lutwidge, of his Majesty's ship the Triton, arrived with the Lord Howe and Bute transports, having troops on board, together with the British Queen, Agnes, and Beaver, victuallers from England.

Capt. Douglas speaks highly in commendation of the captains and officers of the ships employed to carry succours, for their perseverance and exertion in the many difficulties they had to encounter in the passage through the gulph, and in every other part of the service."

"*Whitehall, June* 24. The following letter from Gen. Carleton to Lord George Germaine was this morning received by Lieut. Fooks, of his Majesty's ship Lizard, arrived from Quebec in the Hope transport.

"*On board the Maria, opposite St Ann's, May* 25. 1776.

My Lord, I have this moment received an account from Capt. Forster, that he, with a detachment of the 8th regiment, some Canadians, and a number of Indians, had taken, the 19th instant, a fort at the Cedars, two pieces of cannon, and 390 rebels prisoners at discretion. The day following a party of 120 rebels crossed from the island of Montreal to Kinchin; those were attacked by Messr. Lorimer and Mongtiny, defeated, and taken.

The small force that is already arrived is drawing nearer to the rebels, to see if any assistance can be given to the King's good subjects above, who have begun rather sooner than I could have wished. The rebels are still numerous in the province, and talk of large reinforcements. I am, &c.

GUY CARLETON."

Lieut. Fooks sailed from Quebec on the 26th of May, and gives an account, that before his departure some Indians had arrived from the party at the Cedars, about eight leagues from Montreal, who informed him, that the Indians of the western confederacy were in motion to join the King's troops, and that a very large body of them were within three days march of the Cedars. He adds, that the same night he left Quebec, he met the transports with the British regiments from Ireland, under convoy of the Carysfort and Pearl; and had no doubt of their arriving at Quebec the next morning; and that on his arrival at the isle of Coudre on the 28th, he found the transports with the Brunswick troops, under convoy of the Juno and Blonde, at anchor, waiting the return of tide in order to proceed up to Quebec, the wind being then unfavourable; but that Lt-Gen. Burgoyne was gone before in the Surprise frigate, and probably would land at Quebec on the evening of the 26th."

"*Admiralty-office, June* 25. Com. Hotham, who sailed in the Preston, with some

ſome others of his Majeſty's ſhips, to convoy the tranſports, having on board the firſt diviſion of Heſſian troops, and the party of guards ordered to join the army under the command of Gen. Howe, gives account, in a letter received from him dated the 5th inſtant, that he was then arrived in lat. 44. 57. North, long. 30. 12. Weſt from the Lizard, with all his convoy, except the Malaga brig, which had parted company in a gale of wind the 26th of May. He adds, that the troops continued very healthy, and in good ſpirits."

"*Admiralty-office, June* 29. Vice-Adm. Shuldham, in his letter dated the 20th of May laſt, gives an account, that the cruiſers of his ſquadron had intercepted and taken twenty-four ſhips and veſſels belonging to or trading with his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects in North America, in addition to thoſe mentioned in his letter of the 25th of April, among which was the Lyon ſchooner, bound from Cape François to Rhode Iſland, laden with arms and ammunition."

From other papers, &c.

An officer, in a letter, dated, Quebec, May 14, writes thus.—"The New-England rebels were very ſucceſsful upon their firſt arrival in this province, having got moſt of the Canadians in their intereſt. They took the two regiments (which were all the regular troops in the province) priſoners; made themſelves maſters of the town of Montreal, and all the forts, and the whole open country. Flaſhed with this ſucceſs, they came before our capital (Quebec), where their main army was joined by a reinforcement of 600 men, who had marched ſtraight through the woods from Boſton, where ſcarcely any body had ever paſſed before, and thought utterly impracticable for a body of men. The ſuburbs about Quebec, which were extenſive, (now in ruins), were not deſtroyed at the firſt arrival of the enemy; ſo that, in two places, they annoyed us with their rifle-men,—though they killed only a very few. They alſo (though in the winter) got a battery of five guns againſt the town, but was ſilenced by a ſuperior fire from our ramparts. They alſo bombarded the town, in the night, with ſmall ſhells, till the 31ſt December, when, about two hours before day, they made a general attack, with their whole force, upon the ramparts. Their two principal attacks being againſt the two extremities of the low town, their General (Montgomery, an Iriſh gentleman, who had been a captain in our army, poſſeſſing extraordinary qualifications fitting him for ſuch a command) led the attack againſt a very ſtrong poſt in the low town. Our cannon (ſix pieces) loaded with grape-ſhot, did not begin to fire till the enemy was within the diſtance of twenty yards; which, with the muſketry of the guard at the ſame time, made terrible havock. Their General, with four of his officers, lay ſlain in one heap within twenty, and others within ten, yards of our fortifications; by which that attack was wholly fruſtrated, and all that part of their army retired in confuſion. The attack upon the other extremity of the low town, was made with 600 men. At firſt they had ſucceſs, though that turned out at laſt to their ruin. They forced our advanced poſt, where we had four pieces of cannon; afterwards got poſſeſſion of another barrier, and forced their way through a narrow ſtreet to the laſt barrier, which if they had gained, they would have been in the low town. At the ſame time the Governor ordered a ſally out at a gate they had paſſed, to follow their track in the ſnow, (that was then deep), and fall upon them behind. That we ſhould open a gate and attack them, when attacked ourſelves, was a thing very unexpected; ſo that, finding they were ſtopped at the laſt barrier, and thus attacked behind, they were obliged to take ſhelter in the houſes of the narrow ſtreet, and, at laſt, gave themſelves up priſoners to the number of about 450; amongſt whom were thirty-two officers, of all ranks, from colonels to enſigns. The morning of the attack, I happened to have the piquet; and gueſſing, by the flaſhes in the air, (in the dark), that it was muſketry at the other ſide of the town, though we heard no report, had the piquet drawn out upon the ramparts at our alarm-poſt, before the firing came round that length, which it ſoon did, and we fired away upon theſe people as they paſſed along that way, which they were obliged to do to get to the low town. About break of day, Maj. Caldwell came round with ſome men, and took me, with part of the piquet, along with him to the low town. When we got there, the enemy had got as far as the inner barrier, and had a ladder on both ſides of it. There the battle raged,

till the enemy, falling back, got into houſes. Some time after, the *ſortii*, coming behind them, put an end to the affair. It was the firſt time I ever happened to be ſo cloſely engaged, as we were obliged to puſh with our bayonets. It is certainly a diſagreeable neceſſity to be obliged to put one another to death, eſpecially thoſe ſpeaking the ſame language, and dreſſed in the ſame manner with ourſelves: only theſe mad people had a large piece of white linen, or paper, upon their foreheads, with the words *Liberty or Death!* wrote upon it. The garriſon, in general, behaved remarkably well, conſiſting, in all, of about 1400 men, moſtly town's militia and ſailors, with 200 of Maclean's corps, which were only raiſed laſt ſummer. They certainly did their duty with much patience, during a ſevere winter of ſix months. In the day-time we wrought a great deal at the fortifications, and ſhoveling the ſnow; and, in the night, even thoſe not upon duty durſt not ſleep but with cloaths and accoutrements on, and by whole companies in one houſe, to be the more ready; for upon our vigilance every thing depended. For the laſt month, the enemy had two batteries, of four guns each, playing on the town with red-hot balls, in hopes to ſet it on fire; but, luckily, did very little harm. They alſo made uſe of a fire-ſhip, in order to burn our ſhipping in the harbour, which would have communicated the flames to the town; at the ſame time intending to eſcalade the walls: for which purpoſe, they laid numbers of ladders all around in our ſight; which had the effect to keep us more upon our guard. This fire-ſhip got very near the harbour; but a cannon being fired, that was well directed, the men that were in her left her a little too ſoon, ſo that the tide carried her clear paſt the town, without doing the leaſt harm, and diſappointed them of their attack, for which their whole army was prepared. Thus, from the 14th November laſt, we paſſed one dreary night after another, either watching, or making rounds and patroles, upon an extent of works of upwards of three miles round, till the 6th May, when we had the agreeable ſight of Commodore Douglas, with a ſhip of war and two frigates, arriving in the baſon, with part of the 28th regiment on board: And the very ſame day, with only the reinforcement of about 300 regular troops, the gates were thrown open; and the whole garriſon, except thoſe on guard, poured out, drove off the enemy's advanced guards, and marched forward near two miles clear out upon the plain, (our former field of battles laſt war), with three pieces of cannon in our front, that fired away at ſome parties of men at a diſtance. This ſally, ſo unexpected, and the two frigates under ſail, at the ſame time, up the river, being ignorant of our numbers, and ſuſpecting, probably, that there was a force on board the frigates, which might, by taking poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt above, cut off their retreat, their whole army took to their heels, it is ſaid, about 3000 men, leaving all their artillery, ſtores, baggage, and proviſions, which fell into our hands. Gen. Carleton has gained honour by his behaviour this winter. He ſhowed himſelf a brave ſteady officer, careful not to expoſe rathly the lives of his men;—in ſhort, a chief whom we eſteem, and chearfully obey. Lt-Col. Maclean has likewiſe great merit in having contributed much to the preſervation of this place, by his forwarding the reparations of the fortifications, and his indefatigable care and trouble in the directing the duty of the garriſon, together with his management, in every ſhape, as a good officer. He was here ſecond in command, and ſeemed the fitteſt man in the world for the place he occupied. There were alſo ſeveral old officers, who happened to be here, and were of great ſervice; as Major Caldwell, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much, Major Cox, two Captain Fraſers, Lieut. Wauchope, of Maclean's corps, and ſeveral others."

A gentleman at Quebec writes to his friend at Glaſgow, alſo May 14. thus.

"When I wrote to you laſt I had a very heavy heart; but, thank God, the rebels, who blocked us up all winter, and made us paſs a moſt diſagreeable ſix months, left us the 6th inſtant, on the arrival of the Surpriſe frigate from England.

I intend to ſend you a journal, containing every material occurrence during the blockade: mean time ſhall give you the words of my journal on the day the rebels attempted to ſtorm us.

Dec. 31. Wind N. E. ſnowy and cloudy. Capt. Malcom Fraſer, of the Royal Emigrants, in going his rounds between four and five o'clock this morning, perceived ſignals made by the enemy: he immediately

alarmed the guards, and piquets; who ſtood to their arms. All our centries ſaw flaſhes like lightning every where round about. Thoſe between St John's gate and Cape Diamond ſaw an avenue of lanthorns as if ſet upon poles, at regular diſtances; their ſky-rockets were ſeen; which was inſtantaneouſly followed by a ſhower of balls, from the rebels, on our people, who lined the walls at Cape Diamond. The drums beat to arms; all the bells rang the alarm; and, in leſs than ten minutes, every perſon able to bear arms was in motion: even old men upwards of ſeventy were forward in appearing for the defence of the town.

A party of the Britiſh militia, under Col. Caldwell, was immediately detached, by Col. Maclean, to reinforce Cape Diamond, as it was ſaid an attack would be made there: there he poſted the party, and returned to the parade. Mr Montgomery attacked, at be ſame time, at Pres de Ville, (a ſtrong barrier and guard-houſe, at the ſouthern extremity of the town), with 900 picked men; and Arnold attacked, at Saut au Matelot, (the battery at the northeren end of the lower town), with 700 choſen fellows. Still the fire was kept up at Cape Diamond; and a ſtrong body (it is ſaid they were Canadians) appeared on St John's ſuburb, and their bomb-battery played on us from St Roc.

The guard at Pres de Ville had perceived flaſhes for ſome time; and every man was ready at his poſt. The gunners, with lighted matches, ſtood ready to give the rebels a warm reception. Though the night was very dark, with thick ſnow, yet they were ſeen approaching. A body of about 150 came within fifty yards of our guns. They made a ſtand, at a narrow paſs, as if in conſultation. Cap. Barnsfare, who commanded the guns, watched the time, and fired the inſtant they began to move forwards. Shrieks and groans were heard, but no body were ſeen. After this cool diſcharge, he continued his fire for ſome time. —— At the other end of the town, the rebels had better ſucceſs: They forced our guard at Saut au Matelot, penetrated to the end of the ſtreet, where our people made a ſtand behind a barrier. A very hot fire began on both ſides: the rebels fired under cover as much as poſſible. — At this time, Gen. Carleton ſaw their error, and improved the opportunity. He ſent Capt. Laws, with a party, out at Palace gate, to attack the enemy in rear; and Col. Maclean ſent Capt. Macdougal to ſupport him, and take poſſeſſion of the poſt which our guard had abandoned. Maj. Nairne alſo of the Royal Emigrants, or Col. Maclean's regiment, was detached to the lower town, with a ſtrong party; and Col. Caldwell, with a detachment of the Britiſh militia, was ſent there alſo. ——

Maj. Nairne, and Lieut. Dembourges, of the ſame corps, attracted the notice of every body, and gained much honour by their gallant behaviour. They entered a houſe by the windows, where the rebels had lodged themſelves, and, with charged bayonets, forced them to deſert it; and thus ſecured a poſt, which, had the enemy kept, muſt have been attended with the worſt conſequence for us, as it commanded a principal ſtreet, and overlooked the ſtrong battery on Lymburner's Wharf.

The general, from his knowledge in military affairs, foreſaw that the *ſorti* would be crowned with ſucceſs. The different corps, confiding in his abilities, marched with alacrity where-ever they were led; and advanced, ſecure of gaining victory.

Col. Maclean, the ſecond in command, with all the preſence of mind which diſtinguiſhes the brave ſoldier, made his diſpoſitions in moſt excellent order, to counteract the plans of the attackers. In ſhort, his indefatigability, ever ſince the town was inveſted, gave us a favourable preſage of our ſucceſs.

Col. Caldwell, by his example, made his corps of militia emulous to appear where danger made their aſſiſtance neceſſary. — The rebels, perceiving themſelves vigouroufly attacked in front and rear, called for quarter; which was granted. In this affair, we made the flower of Mr Montgomery's army priſoners; and we have reaſon to think, that many have been killed, and many wounded. — Arnold was carried off at the firſt onſet: he was ſhot in the leg, while he was paſſing the piquets behind the Hotel Dieu; from whence an inconceivable fuſilade was poured on the rebels as they marched to the Saut au Matelot.

The priſoners ſay, that if Mr Montgomery's party had attacked at Pres de Ville with equal bravery to that which was ſhown at Saut au Matelot, they would have carried the lower town. But after the lower town is taken, it is commanded by the upper town.

The rebels had ſlips of paper pin'd to their

their caps, with the words *Liberty or Death!* wrote on them.

We loſt, this morning, Capt, Anderſon, formerly Lieutenant in the navy, killed; 5 privates killed; one private wounded.

We took two royals, three howitzers two braſs three-pounders, with a quantity of ſmall ſhells.

We made priſoners 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 8 captains, 15 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaſter, 4 volunteers, 350 privates; 44 officers and ſoldiers wounded.—426 taken in all.

Our fatigue, this winter, has been exceſſive. Every man able to carry a muſquet, became ſoldier, and did his duty chearfully. We lived on ſalt beef, ſalt pork, and ſalt fiſh. Freſh meat was from 15 d. to 18 d. per pound; a turkey 15 s. a dozen of eggs 2 s. 6 d. and every thing in proportion."

Adam Barnfair, maſter of the Fell tranſport, writes to his owner in Whitby, from Quebec, May 15, thus. "I have the pleaſure to inform you, that we have got the troubles of this winter over, and have kept the town of Quebec in ſpite of all our enemies. I am now fitting out the Fell as faſt as poſſible to go up the river. The rebels who ran from this place on the 6th inſt. at the approach of a frigate, were 4000 ſtrong, and we within the walls 1500. We have had a hard winter; beef was 1 s. per pound, and pork 1 s. 3 d. Before this comes to hand you will hear of our having been attacked on the 31ſt of December; when I had the honour to command at that port where the grand attack was made, and had the fortune of killing the General, his aid de camp, and Capt. Cheeſeman, by the firſt two guns I fir'd, which was a great means of ſaving the garriſon; ſo you find I am become an expert warrior. They made ſeveral attempts afterwards, and raiſed four batteries againſt different parts of the town: one was againſt the ſhipping, which has done great damage to ſeveral of them, but moſt to the Fell: they knew the ſhip, as ſhe lay between two men of war: one boy on board has loſt his leg: and one more is wounded."

Some advices from Quebec mention, that two thirds of the ſailors who defended that place were Iriſh. During the continuance of the ſiege they had conformed to a temperance ſuited to the ſtrictneſs of diſcipline which it was neceſſary to maintain. At length, the 17th of March, St Patrick's day, approached; and the provincials began to entertain hopes, that they might take advantage of the intoxication which would probably prevail in ſo conſiderable a part of the garriſon. To defeat theſe expectations, Lt-Col. Maclean aſſembled the Iriſh, and gained their conſent to poſtpone the celebration of St Patrick's day to the 17th of May, by which time it was reaſonable to expect the reinforcements from G. Britain would be arrived. In conſequence of this arrangement, the two following orders were iſſued on their reſpective dates.

"*Quebec, March* 16. 1776. Ordered by Col. Maclean, with the General's conſent, that St Patrick's day be changed from the 17th of March, to the 17th of May next."

"*Quebec, May* 16. 1776. Ordered, by the approbation of the General, that the Sons of St Patrick do meet Col. Maclean on the parade to-morrow, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, to drink grog."

A letter brought in the Hunter ſloop, which arrived from Quebec at London June 10. [310.], gives the following intelligence. "Capt. Douglas, of the Iſis, arrived at Quebec May 6. landed Lord Peterſham, with 200 grenadiers, at ten o'clock; and, at twelve, they having firſt refreſhed themſelves with beer, bread, and cheeſe, immediately ſallied out upon the rebel-army, under command of Gen. Carleton. They fired from their batteries a gun or two, and immediately fled with the greateſt conſternation, throwing away muſkets, cartouch-boxes, and all their arms. They were purſued as far as Gen. Carleton thought prudent; and certainly will evacuate the whole province, as men never behaved with ſuch marks of real fear as theſe boaſted heroes did on this memorable day. The brave, prudent, and diligent Gen. Carleton, has proved himſelf, through this winter, to be not only a noble ſoldier, but a true patriot; having, with unwearied attention, ſaved this province from the rebels, when the majority of the town were for delivering it up. He arrived from Montreal in a canoe down the river St Laurence, when the puſillanimity of the Lieutenant-Governor was about to deliver it up, had he not been reſtrained by the bravery of Capt. Hamilton, of the Lizard. They were not ſo much in want of proviſions in Quebec as was repreſented, having plen-

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ty of pork, flour, rice, brandy, rum, wine, and every thing but freſh beef."

"*Quebec, May* 14. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the Roman-Catholics, the clergy of that religion, we now find, have been of great ſervice, and prevented many from joining the rebels, as they preached up damnation to all who ſhould oppoſe the King's forces.—Yeſterday the following proclamation was publiſhed here.

"Whereas I found it neceſſary, by a proclamation, dated the 22d of November 1775, to order and injoin all and every perſon whatſoever, liable to ſerve in the militia, and reſiding at Quebec, who had refuſed or declined to inrol their names in the militia liſts, and to take up arms in conjunction with his Majeſty's good ſubjects of the ſaid city, as well as thoſe who having once taken up arms, had afterwards laid them down, and refuſed to take them up again, to quit the town in four days from the date thereof, with their wives and children:

I do now hereby order, that no perſon or perſons of the above deſcription, who quitted the city of Quebec, in conſequence of the ſaid proclamation, nor any perſon or perſons who either before or after the proclamation deſerted or withdrew from any corps to which they once belonged, ſhall preſume to enter the ſaid city again without a permiſſion in writing, under my hand, or under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor of this province.

Given under my hand and ſeal of arms, at the caſtle of St Lewis in the city of Quebec, this 12th of May 1776.

GUY. CARLETON."

"*Quebec, May* 24. On the 22d Gen. Carleton left this by water, with the 29th regiment about 600, and 340 of the 47th regiment.—The rebels never ſtopt in their flight from hence, till they got to Sarrel, (140 miles from Quebec, and about 40 this ſide of Montreal), where they are fortifying themſelves, and gathering all the proviſions they can. Their numbers before Quebec were more than we really believed, they were near 4000; 1000 more have ſince joined them from the lower colonies.

Yeſterday, an expreſs arrived, acquainting us, that Lt-Col. Caldwell, and Gov. Hamilton had come down from the upper poſts, with the greateſt part of the 8th regiment, with 500 Indians and ſome Canadians from Detroit. At a place called *the Cedars*, about 45 miles above Montreal, they attacked a guard of 400 rebels, commanded by a Col. Buttle: they killed or took almoſt the whole of them, and were on their march to Montreal."

Quebec, May 25. Both the army and navy ſeem heartily to concur in the buſineſs they are ſent on, and every preparation is making to proceed up the river as ſoon as the German troops arrive. The ſeven regiments from Ireland gave us ſpirit on their arrival, and with what have dropped in before, (for Gen. Howe ſent us a battalion of 700 men), we now muſter 10,000 effective men. The Royal Canadians which Gen. Carleton raiſed, are very reſpectable ſoldiers; for the ſiege has quite perfected them in their duty. Since the opening of the river, we have had arrived here 147 ſail, 27 of which were victuallers."

We now give the accounts received of the army under Gen. Howe.

"*London, June* 6. Tueſday evening arrived the Harriot packet from Halifax [254.], which place ſhe left on the 12th of May; and brings an account to government of Gen. Howe's arrival there, after a paſſage of thirty days from Boſton, in a very diſtreſſed condition."

"*Extract of a letter from an officer on board the —— man of war in Halifax harbour, May* 7. My laſt was from Nantaſket road, on our leaving Boſton. Our voyage hither was the moſt diſagreeable I ever had, as you may well ſuppoſe, when I tell you, that we were a month from leaving the road to our arrival in this harbour; which is one of the fineſt perhaps in the whole world. The wind was, for the moſt part, againſt us; but the fogs that prevailed on this coaſt were our greateſt hinderance. Sometimes we were juſt off the harbour's mouth, when the fogs came on; then immediately about ſhip, and ſtand to ſea, perhaps not able to ſee the ſhip's length; ſo that we were obliged to ring the bell, and keep a loud noiſe, to prevent any of the fleet falling foul of us. At length we got into the harbour, all except about four ſail, who have come in ſince; and, conſidering every thing, I think it is a miracle we have heard of no loſs.—A great many of the troops were immediately diſembarked; who have begun to repair and fortify the works, and put them in the beſt poſture. They tell me that the fogs here laſt two thirds of the year.—We are tolerably

tolerably well off, having had freſh beef ſent on board us ſince we arrived; tho' they tell me it is very ſcarce to what it uſed to be, as it has been ſold for three halfpence a-pound.—The people here are glad we are come; and, I aſſure you, we are as glad as they, having been obliged to keep a good look-out, and row guard every night in Boſton harbour."

"*Halifax, May* 19. A ſhip from London, freighted with ſundry articles, being a donation for the army [108], is ſafely arrived here.

A regiment is raiſing here to be called *the Loyal Nova-Scotia Volunteers*; and Gen. Howe has iſſued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all deſerters, who will ſurrender before the 24th of June, and enter into the ſaid corps.

A ſpecial court of ſeſſions was held here the 10th inſt. to ſettle the price of proviſions, as on account of the arrival of the troops, every advantage had been taken of the fulneſs of the town, and the great demand for every article thereof. The order of ſeſſions runs thus:—"That all butchers, and others, ſelling dead meat, ſhall expoſe the ſame publicly for ſale; and ſhall not aſk, or demand, for the beſt prime pieces of beef, pork, mutton, lamb, and veal, more than one ſhilling currency the pound, avoirdupois, and the coarſer parts in proportion; fowls, dead or alive, not exceeding two ſhillings each, and chickens in proportion; hares, or rabbits, one ſhilling and ſixpence each; tame ducks, two ſhillings each; wild ducks, one ſhilling and ſixpence each; partridges, one ſhilling and three pence each.—The above prices are in currency only."

"*From an officer on board the Chatham, at Halifax, May* 26. We are ſtill here waiting the arrival of Lord Howe and the reinforcements from England, but ſtand ready to depart on the ſhorteſt notice. Moſt of the troops ſleep on board the tranſports, and all the ſtores have been imbarked for a conſiderable time. The ſhifting our quarters from Boſton to this place has been attended with great advantage. Every thing is in great plenty here, compared to Boſton. We have all ſorts of butchers meat, poultry, and fiſh, daily at market; though the firſt two articles are dear; but we have the greateſt variety of fiſh I ever ſaw in one place for the catching in the harbour, and if purchaſed in the market it is under a halfpenny per pound, one kind with another. The ſeamen have freſh beef twice a-week, very good ſoft bread in lieu of biſcuit, and excellent ſpruce beer. The mode of victualling the army is different from that of the navy, and I believe they are not ſo well provided.—We have great plenty of potatoes at from 2 s. to 2 s. 6 d. per buſhel; carrots and parſnips at the ſame price. Both the ſeamen and ſoldiers are remarkably healthy, and in good ſpirits. The harbour is full of prizes, and a great many ſhips have come from England and the Weſt Indies to market with all ſorts of neceſſaries for the fleet and army. We can buy good Weſt-India rum here for half a crown a-gallon, ſuch as we gave half a guinea for before we left Boſton; and London porter is ſold at a groat a-quart."

Accounts are publiſhed by the provincials of an action in North Carolina, preceded by letters that paſſed between *Donald Macdonald, Eſq; lately created Brigadier-General in the Tory army, by Governor Martin*, and *Brigadier-General James Moore*.—— We give extracts.

Mr Macdonald to the commanding officer at Rockfiſh, dated, Head Quarters, Feb. 19. "I herewith ſend the bearer, Donald Moriſon, by advice of the commiſſioners appointed by his Excellency Joſiah Martin, and in behalf of the army now under my command, to propoſe terms to you as friends and countrymen. I muſt ſuppoſe you unacquainted with the Governor's proclamation, commanding all his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects to repair to the King's royal ſtandard; elſe I ſhould have imagined you would, ere this, have joined the King's army, now engaged in his Majeſt's ſervice. I have therefore thought it proper to intimate to you, that in caſe you do not, by twelve o' clock to-morrow, join the royal ſtandard, I muſt certainly conſider you as enemies, and take the neceſſary ſteps for the ſupport of legal authority. I beg leave to remind you of his Majeſty's ſpeech to his parliament, wherein he offers to receive the miſled with tenderneſs and mercy, from motives of humanity. I again beg of you to accept the proffered clemency."

Mr Moore's Anſwer, dated, Camp at Rockfiſh, Feb. 19. "The terms which you are pleaſed to ſay, in behalf of the army under your command, are offered to us as friends and countrymen, are ſuch as neither my duty or inclinations will permit me to accept, and which I muſt

muſt preſume you are too much of an officer to expect of me.—Should I not hear farther from you before twelve o' clock to-morrow, by which time I ſhall have an opportunity of conſulting my officers, you may expect a more particular anſwer."

Ditto to Ditto, Feb. 20. "Agreeable to my promiſe of yeſterday, I have conſulted the officers under my command reſpecting your letter, and am happy in finding them unanimous in opinion with me. We conſider ourſelves engaged in a cauſe the moſt glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind, in ſupport of which we are determined to hazard every thing dear and valuable: and, in tenderneſs to the deluded people under your command, permit me, Sir, thro' you, to inform them, before it is too late, of the dangerous and deſtructive precipice on which they ſtand, and to remind them of the ungrateful return they are about to make, for their favourable reception in this country. If this is not ſufficient to recall them to the duty which they owe to themſelves and their poſterity, inform them, that they are engaged in a cauſe in which they cannot ſucceed, as not only the whole force of this country, but that of our neighbouring provinces, is exerting, and now actually in motion, to ſuppreſs them, and which muſt end in their utter deſtruction. Deſirous, however, of avoiding the effuſion of human blood, I have thought proper to ſend you a copy of the teſt [26.] recommended by the continental congreſs, which, if they will yet ſubſcribe, and lay down their arms, by twelve o' clock to-morrow, we are willing to receive them as friends and countrymen. Should this offer be rejected, I ſhall conſider them as enemies to the conſtitutional liberties of America, and treat them accordingly. I cannot conclude without reminding you, Sir, of the oath which you and ſome of your officers took at Newbern, on your arrival to this country, which, I imagine, you will find difficult to reconcile to your preſent conduct."

Reply by Mr Macdonald, Feb.—"I received your favour, and obſerve your declared ſentiments of revolt, hoſtility, and rebellion to the King, and to what I underſtand to be the conſtitution of this country. If I am miſtaken, future conſequences muſt determine; but while I continue in my preſent ſentiments, I ſhall conſider myſelf imbarked in a cauſe which muſt, in its conſequences, extricate this country from anarchy and licentiouſneſs. I cannot conceive that the Scots emigrants, to whom I imagine you allude, can be under greater obligations to this country, than to that king under whoſe gracious and merciful government they alone could have been enabled to viſit this weſtern region: and I truſt, Sir, it is in the womb of time to ſay, that they are not that deluded and ungrateful people which you would repreſent them to be. As a ſoldier in his Majeſty's ſervice, I muſt inform you, if you are yet to learn, that it is my duty to conquer, if I cannot reclaim, all thoſe who may be hardy enough to take up arms againſt the beſt of maſters, as of kings."

A letter from Col. Richard Caſwell, to Cornelius Harnett, Eſq; preſident of the provincial council of North Carolina, dated from his camp at Long Creek, Feb. 29. runs thus.

"SIR, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that we had an engagement with the Tories, at Widow-Moor's-creek bridge, on the 27th current. Our army was about 1000 ſtrong, conſiſting of the Newbern battalion of minutemen, the militia from Craven, Johnſton, Dobbs, and Wake, and a detachment of the Wilmington battalion of minutemen, which we found encamped at Moore's creek the night before the battle, under the command of Col. Lillington.

The Tories by common report were 3000, but General Macdonald, whom we have a priſoner, ſays, there were about 1500 or 1600. He was unwell that day, and not in the battle, Capt. Macleod, who ſeemed to be the principal commander, with Capt. John Campbell, are amongſt the ſlain. The number killed and mortally wounded, from the beſt accounts I was able to collect, was about thirty: moſt of them were ſhot on their paſſing the bridge. Several had fallen in the water, ſome of whom, I am pretty certain, had not riſen yeſterday evening, when I left the camp: ſuch priſoners as we have made ſay there were at leaſt 50 of their men miſſing."

"*Williamſburgh, March* 23. We hear from North Carolina, that parties of men are diſperſed all over the colony, apprehending ſuſpected perſons, and diſarming all the highlanders and regulators, that were

were put to the rout in the late battle. The conquerors have already taken 350 guns and ſhot-bags, about 150 ſwords and dirks, 1500 excellent rifles, two medicine-cheſts freſh from England, a box containing half-joanneſes and guineas ſecreted in a ſtable at Croſs Creek, diſcovered by a negro, and reported to be worth 15,000 l. Sterling, alſo 13 waggons, with complete ſets of horſes: 850 common ſoldiers were made priſoners, diſarmed, and diſcharged. Col. Long has alſo apprehended ſeveral of their officers, who are now in Halifax gaol, viz. Col. John Piles, Maj. Thomas Collins, Capt' David Jackſon, Enoch Bradby, John Piles, and Thomas Readford; Lieut' Stephen Parker and Daniel M'Donald, the latter wounded through the thigh; Enſ. Dunning, and Dr Robertſon. There are in the ſame gaol four perſons of the name of Field, one Turner, and three Bells, a midſhipman and a quarter-gunner of the Scorpion; likewiſe one Kingſborough Macdonald, Mr Rutherford, Hector Macneal and Alexander Macdonald, Capt' Moriſon, Mackenzie, Ure, Leggate, Croſs, Parſons, Maccoy, Mure, Michelſon, Maccarter, and Adjutant Fraſer; Lieut' M'Iver and Hewes,—Cameron, Donald Hews, Donald Cameron, and ſundry other Lieutenants and Enſigns, whoſe names we have not an account of; Kenneth Macdonald, aide-de-camp; James Hepburn, ſecretary; Parſon Beattie, and Dr Moriſon, commiſſary. Gen. Macdonald and Brig.-Gen. Macleod (the latter of whom was killed, and the other taken priſoner) ſet out at the head of this banditti with the avowed intention of carrying Gov. Martin to the interior parts of the province. Theſe two officers paſſed through Newbern a few months ago, where they took a ſolemn oath, before the committee, that their buſineſs in that province was only to ſee their friends and relations."

From the New-York Conſtitutional Gazette, April 10. "On Saturday laſt the continental fleet fell in with the Glaſgow man of war, off Montock point, at the eaſt end of Long iſland; when Admiral Hopkins being the foremoſt ſhip, he attacked the Glaſgow; when a hot engagement enſued, but before another ſhip could come up, the Glaſgow ſheered off with conſiderable damage. The fleet afterwards took a bomb brig, and three tenders, all of which they carried ſafe into New London on Sunday morning."

NEW BOOKS. [265]

LONDON.

Religion, Morality, Controverſy, &c.

A view of the internal evidence of the Chriſtian religion. [By Soame Jenyns, Eſq;] 2 s. 6 d. *Dodſley* —— Our ingenious author is of opinion, that the internal evidence of Chriſtianity has not been conſidered with the attention which it deſerves; and yet, in our judgement, his manner of illuſtrating and applying his argument is liable to conſiderable objections. It has not occurred to us, that doctrines allowed to be contradictory to reaſon, are not on this account the leſs credible.—In obviating the objections which have been commonly alledged againſt Chriſtianity, we cannot help thinking, that our author has made ſome conceſſions not the moſt favourable to the cauſe which he propoſes to ſerve. He firſt evinces the neceſſity of revelation in proof of its credibility: he then conſiders the objection that has been deduced from the errors and inconſiſtencies, the fabulous ſtories, falſe facts and falſe philoſophy, which are contained in the books of revelation. Let our readers judge of his reply: "I readily acknowledge, that the ſcriptures are not revelations from God, but the hiſtory of them: the revelation itſelf is derived from God; but the hiſtory of it is the production of men, and therefore the truth of it is not in the leaſt affected by their fallibility, but depends on the internal evidence of its own ſupernatural excellence. If in theſe books ſuch a religion as has been deſcribed, actually exiſts, no ſeeming, or even real, defects to be found in them, can diſprove the divine origin of this religion, or invalidate my argument. Let us, for inſtance, grant, that the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation was founded on the erroneous but popular principles of thoſe early ages, who imagined the earth to be a vaſt plain, and the celeſtial bodies no more than luminaries hung up in the concave firmament to enlighten it: Will it from thence follow, that Moſes could not be a proper inſtrument in the hands of Providence, to impart to the Jews a divine law, becauſe he was not inſpired with a foreknowledge of the Copernican and Newtonian ſyſtems? or that Chriſt muſt be an impoſtor, becauſe Moſes was not an aſtronomer? Let us alſo ſuppoſe, that the accounts of Chriſt's temptation in the wilderneſs, the devil's taking refuge in the herd of ſwine, with ſeveral other narrations in the New Teſtament, frequently ridiculed by unbelievers, were all but ſtories accommodated to the ignorance and ſuperſtitions of the times and countries in which they were written, or pious frauds intended to impreſs on vulgar minds a higher reverence of the powers

and ſanctity of Chriſt; will this in the leaſt impeach the excellence of his religion, or the authority of its founder? or is Chriſtianity anſwerable for all the fables of which it may have been the innocent occaſion? The want of this obvious diſtinction has much injured the Chriſtian cauſe; becauſe on this ground it has ever been moſt ſucceſsfully attacked, and on this ground it is not eaſily to be defended: for if the records of this revelation are ſuppoſed to be the revelation itſelf, the leaſt defect diſcovered in them muſt be fatal to the whole. If in theſe books a religion ſuperior to all human imagination actually exiſts, it is of no conſequence to the proof of its divine origin, by what means it was there introduced, or with what human errors and imperfections it is blended. A diamond, though found in a bed of mud, is ſtill a diamond; nor can the dirt which ſurrounds it, depretiate its value or deſtroy its luſtre." M. ——On this mode of ſolving the objection we cannot but obſerve, that though a fabulous ſtory, or a pious fraud, may not depretiate the excellency of our Saviour's moral precepts; yet it invalidates the credit and authority of thoſe writers, to whom alone we owe the whole ſyſtem of Chriſtianity, and the knowledge of its author. If they have been guilty of a pious fraud in one inſtance, they may have been guilty of a falſity in others; and their hiſtories may be only a ſeries of fables, intended to impreſs on vulgar minds a higher reverence of the power and ſanctity of Chriſt. The defenders of Chriſtianity ſhould conſider the conſequences of ſuch conceſſions. Where we imagine we ſee an inconſiſtency, or an abſurdity, we ſhould rather ſuſpect our own want of diſcernment. Perhaps it may not be the evangelical writer that *reads*, but we ourſelves that *dream*. C.

De utilitate linguæ Arabicæ, in ſtudiis theologicis; Oratio, habita Oxonii, in ſchola Linguarum, VII Id. Aprilis, MDCCLXXV. Auctore Joſepho White, A M. Collegii Wadhami Socio, et linguæ Arabicæ Profeſſore Laudiano. 1 s. 6 d. *White.* —— This oration was delivered on occaſion of the author's appointment to the chair of Arabic Profeſſor. It is intended to evince the importance and utility of the Arabic language, and to promote the ſtudy of it among men of ſcience in general, and divines in particular. M.

Inſtructions for young people in the public worſhip of God; being a ſhort account of the general ſervice of the church; and alſo directions for a proper behaviour during the performance thereof. By A. Crocker, ſchoolmaſter in Ilminſter. 3 d. *Robinſon.* —— Teaches, without fanaticiſm, right ſentiments and a becoming deportment during the courſe of worſhip. M.

A commentary on the book of Pſalms. By George Horne, D. D. 2 vols. 4to. 1 l. 1 s. boards. *Rivington.* —— A work of piety, learning, and labour. C.

Lectures on that part of the church-catechiſm, commonly called the Apoſtles Creed. Preached in St John the Evangeliſt, Weſtminſter, (purſuant to the will of Dr Buſby). By Thomas Bennet, M. A. 5 s. ſewed. *Bew.* —— Calculated for a plain unlearned congregation. C.

The principles of the Revolution vindicated, in a ſermon preached before the univerſity of Cambridge, on Wedneſday, May 29. 1776. By Richard Watſon, D. D. F. R. S. 1 s. *White.* —— Contains ſome free, but at the ſame time very ſenſible remarks, on every ſpecies of tyranny, regal, parliamentary, and democratical. C.

Sermons to the condemned. Literally, intended for the benefit of thoſe under ſentence of death by the laws of their country; ſpiritually, for all who feel themſelves under condemnation by the law of God, and who may properly be ſtyled *priſoners of hope*. To which is added, an original dialogue, between the miniſter and a convict ordered for execution. By David Edwards. 2 s. *Dilly.* —— In the Methodiſtical ſtrain, but pious and pathetic. C.

Young James; or, The Sage and the Atheiſt, an Engliſh ſtory. From the French of M. Voltaire. 2 s. 6 d. *Murray.* —— A pleaſant, and, in truth, a very moral *jeux d'eſprit* of this inexhauſtible writer; who has here proved himſelf neither Deiſt nor Papiſt, but a good Chriſtian and a ſtaunch Proteſtant. M.

Hiſtory, Law, Politics, &c.

Summary obſervations and facts collected from late and authentic accounts of Ruſſian and other navigators, to ſhew the practicability and good proſpect of ſucceſs in enterpriſes to diſcover a northern paſſage for veſſels by ſea, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, or nearly to approach the North Pole; for which the offers of reward are renewed by a late act of parliament. 1 s. *Nourſe.* —— The compiler of theſe Obſervations and Facts, is a zealous advocate for the practicability of a North-Eaſt paſſage into the Pacific ocean. He is of opinion, that, in high northern latitudes, and at a conſiderable diſtance from the eaſtern coaſts, the ſea is clear; and that neither ice nor ſtorms would obſtruct a navigation, rightly conducted, in the Polar ocean. The facts which he produces, are principally deſigned to refute the notion, by which adventurers have been terrified, with reſpect to the mountains of fixed or floating ice, intercepting a communication with the Eaſtern ocean; and to ſhew, that a voyage in this direction,

rection, could it be accompliſhed, would be much leſs dangerous and fatal to the navigator than thoſe which are now purſued round the ſouthern continent. He likewiſe propoſes to determine the place and time of departure, and the courſe to be held, ſhould this adventure ever be renewed. It is his opinion, that ſhips fitted out for this purpoſe ſhould go early enough to leave the North Cape of Europe at 71 deg. in the month of June. From thence he apprehends, it is adviſeable to ſtretch due North to 73 deg. lat. and there to ſet the firſt courſe at North-Eaſt by Eaſt for a run of 1000 miles, up between Nova Zembla and Spitſbergen, to 83. 30. lat. and 92. 30. E. long. where it is propoſed to ſet the ſecond courſe South-Eaſt for 1500 miles upon the rhumb line leading directly to the opening of the Straits of Behning and Anian, at 68 deg. or 70 lat. and 182 com. long. where an opening from 150 to 200 leagues wide allows an eaſy admiſſion into a paſſage which narrows at 66 deg. and then widens again, to offer the pleaſing proſpect of a mild Southern ſea, in amends for the over-rated Northern colds. M.

The complete gazeteer of England and Wales; or, An accurate deſcription of all the cities, towns, and villages in the kingdom, &c. 2 vols. 7 s. *Robinſon.*

The new gazeteer; or, Geographical companion, &c. A *vade mecum* for the readers of news-papers, &c. By R. Johnſon. Liliputian 4to. 2 s. *Dilly.*

She is and ſhe is not: a fragment of the true hiſtory of Miſs Caroline de Groſberg, *alias* Mrs Potter, &c. Exhibiting a ſeries of uncommon artifices and intrigues in the courſe of her tranſactions with the Earl of Lauderdale, in the years 1764 and 1765. Together with an account of the proceedings in the proceſs ſhe commenced againſt his Lordſhip, and the ſubſtance of the evidence on both ſides. Compiled from papers of undeniable authenticity, and dedicated to Mrs M——t C——e R——dd. 1 s. 6 d. *Bew.*

A tour in Scotland in the year 1772. Part 2. 1 l. 11 s. 6 d. in boards [xxxvi. 370.] *White.* —— The volume begins with additions to the Tour in Scotland in 1769, and likewiſe to the voyage to the Hebrides in 1772.

The border-hiſtory of England and Scotland, deduced from the earlieſt times, to the union of the two crowns. By the late Mr George Ridpath, miniſter of Stitchill, reviſed and publiſhed by the author's brother Mr Philip Ridpath, miniſter of Hutton. 4to. 1 l. 1 s. *Cadell.* —— A more minute account of the tranſactions on the borders than is to be found in any general hiſtory of either kingdom. C.

A ſecond voyage round the world, by Capt. Cook, &c. from authentic papers. 6 s. 6 d. *Almon.* —— This anonymous performance, like a former one [xxxvii. 618], will only ſerve to ſharpen the reader's appetite. C.

Voyage to Sicily and Malta, written by John Dryden, junior, when he accompanied Mr Cecil in that expedition in 1700 and 1701. 2 s. *Bew.* —— As there is an interval of more than ſeventy years between the performance of this voyage and Mr Brydone's Tour, and as ſeveral of the objects and obſervations of the travellers are alſo different, the preſent narrative may lay claim to the attention even of thoſe readers who have peruſed the other work. C.

A narrative of the facts leading to the trials of Maha Raja Nundocomar, and Thomas Fowke, &c. 2 s. *Bew.* —— We are here preſented with ſome anecdotes relative to the trials of the delinquents; accompanied with the addreſſes of the grand jury of Calcutta to the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature; together with their Lordſhips anſwers, and ſome remarks on the trade of Bengal. C.

The trial of Joſeph Fowke, Francis Fowke, Maha Rajah Nundocomar, and Roy Rada Churn, for a conſpiracy againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq; and that of Joſeph Fowke, Maha Raja Nundocomar, and Roy Rada Churn, for a conſpiracy againſt Richard Barwell, Eſq; 10 s. 6 d. *Cadell.* —— The depoſitions concerning a conſpiracy are extremely explicit; the ſeveral trials appear to be copied with accuracy and minuteneſs; and the examination into the claim of Roy Rada Churn to the privilege of an ambaſſador, affords convincing proof, not only of the regard to equity manifeſted by our judges in that part of the Britiſh empire, but likewiſe of their abilities and judicial learning. C.

An addreſs to the public on the expediency of a regular plan for the maintenance and government of the poor; in which its utility, with reſpect to induſtry, morals, and public œconomy, is proved from reaſon, and confirmed by the experience of the houſe of induſtry lately eſtabliſhed in Dublin. With ſome general obſervations on the Engliſh ſyſtem of poor laws; and an examination of the chapter in Lord Kames's Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man relative to the poor. To which is added an argument in ſupport of the right of the poor in the kingdom of Ireland to a national proviſion. By Richard Woodward, LL. D. Dean of Clogher, and Chancellor of St Patrick's, Dublin. 3 s. *Robinſon.*

America.

Plain Truth: addreſſed to the inhabitants of America. Containing remarks on a late pamphlet, intitled Common Senſe [239.]. Philadelphia printed; London reprinted. *Almon.* This author controverts almoſt every propoſition and opinion delivered by

the writer of Common Senſe; maintains, that a reconciliation with Great Britain can alone ſecure peace, ſafety, and happineſs to the colonies; denies the abilities of the latter to attain or ſupport an independent government; and fondly expatiates on the inexhauſtible wealth and power of Great Britain. M.

Independency the object of the congreſs in America. 1 s. *Rivington.* —— The object of the congreſs is too palpable to admit of any equivocation; but if there could be the ſmalleſt doubt of their deſign, the facts to which this author appeals, might fully determine the queſtion C

The conſtitutional advocate. 1 s. *Fleacy.* —— An advocate for the colonies; whoſe cauſe he endeavours to maintain by a repetition of arguments which have already been often refuted. C.

Reflections on the American conteſt. 1 s. *Bew.* —— Endeavours to ſhew, that the attempt of forcing the Americans to ſubmiſſion it extremely impolitic, as it may produce an indelible animoſity between the two countries, which it ſhould be the object of government to reconcile. This is ſaying neither more nor leſs, than that the Americans ought to be totally emancipated from the duty of ſubjects, whenever they chuſe it. C.

Letter to the Earl of Shelburne on the motives of his political conduct, &c. 6 d. *W. Davis.* —— A warm expoſtulation with his Lordſhip relative to the motives of his political conduct; from a correſpondent who threatens to keep a watchful eye over his future behaviour in public life. C.

An oration in memory of Gen. Montgomery, and of the officers and ſoldiers who fell with him, Dec 31. 1775, before Quebec. Drawn up (and delivered Feb 19. 1776) at the deſire of the Honourable Continental Congreſs. By William Smith, D D Provoſt of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. 6 d. *Almon.*

By ſome readers this may be called an animated compoſition, by others a rhapſody. To us it appears to be a mixture of oratory and bombaſt.—The reader ſhall judge for himſelf:

" The magnificent ſtructures raiſed by the gratitude of mankind to their benefactors of old, had but a local and temporary uſe. They were beheld only by one people, and for a few ages:

The heav'n-aſpiring pyramid, the proud
Triumphal arch, and all that e'er upheld
The worſhipp'd name of hoar Antiquity,
Are mouldering into duſt.

In vain does the way-faring man inveſtigate the tottering ruins of the divinity once enthroned there! A ſcanty receptacle, about ſix feet in length and half the breadth, informs him, that it once contained ſome human duſt, long ſince mingled with the common maſs. In vain does the prying antiquary dwell upon the ſculpture, or ſtrive to collect and ſpell the ſcattered fragments of letters. The inſcription is gone — long ſince gone, effaced, obliterated! And fruitleſs were the ſearch through the whole world for the hero's name, if it were not recorded in the Orator's page, and proclaimed by the faithful voice of Hiſtory.

There it ſhall live while the ſmalleſt veſtiges of literature remain upon earth, —yea, till the final diſſolution of things human. Nor ſhall it periſh then; but, being the immediate care of Heaven, the great archangel, when he ſweeps ſuns and ſyſtems from their place, and kindles up their laſt fires, ſtretching forth his mighty arm, ſhall pluck the *deathleſs ſcroll* from the devouring conflagration, and give it a place among the archives of eternity!

But whither am I borne? to what heights have I aſcended? I look down with aſtoniſhment, and *tremble* at my ſituation! Oh! let your friendly arms be extended to *ſave me as I fall*; for in the idea I have of my ſubject, I have undertaken to *guide the chariot of the ſun*; and how ſhall I ſteer through the exalted tract that lies before me? Conſidering myſelf as honoured with this day's office, by the delegated voice of ſome millions of people through a vaſt continent, upon an occaſion wherein their gratitude, their *dignity*, their love of *liberty*, nay, even their *reputation in literature*, are all in ſome degree concerned; what *language ſhall I uſe*, or how ſhall I accommodate myſelf to every circumſtance in the arduous work?

Truth alone muſt guide the hand that *delineates* a character. Should I affect to *ſoar aloft*, and dip my *pencil* in the colours of the ſky, I ſhould but endanger my own *wings*, melt their *wax*, and be precipitated headlong. Nor is the *danger* leſs in the *other extreme*."

Here the author is in the clouds, and ſeems to be ſo dreadfully alarmed, that he can hardly tell us where, or what he is. In one ſentence he ſuppoſes himſelf to be Phaeton, guiding the chariot of the ſun; in the next, he conſiders himſelf as an orator, ſupporting the dignity, the liberty, and the literary character of the whole American continent; in a third, he looks upon himſelf as a painter; in a fourth, as a ſon of Dædalus, but afraid to venture upon his wings; and in a fifth, as 'a way-faring man,' in danger of ſinking to the centre of the earth, or whatever elſe may be called 'the other *extreme*,' in oppoſition to his former ſituation in the clouds. C.

Medicine.

Thoughts on general and partial inoculations. By the Hon. Baron Dimſdale. 1 s. 6 d. *Carnan.*

man. — Preſents the public with two plans: one for the general inoculation of the poor in ſmall towns and villages; the other for the inoculation of the poor in London, and other large and populous places. C.

The phyſical friend. 2s. 6d. half bound. *Baldwin.* — The deſign of this little production, which enumerates the ſymptoms of diſeaſes, is, to enable the ſick to form ſome idea of their ſituation, and aſſiſt them in determining the expediency of having recourſe to medical advice, before the diſtemper is too far advanced. The ſymptoms are chiefly compiled from Allen's Synopſis, and are ſyſtematically arranged. C.

An examination of the Rev. Mr John Weſley's Primitive Phyſic: ſhewing, that a great number of the preſcriptions therein contained are founded on ignorance of the medical art, and of the power and operation of medicines; and that it is a publication calculated to do eſſential injury to the health of thoſe perſons who may place confidence in it. Interſperſed with Medical Remarks and Practical Obſervations. By Mr Hawes, apothecary. 1s. 6d. *Dodſley.* — The deſign of this publication is ſufficiently apparent from the very prolix title-page. Mr Weſley's *Primitive Phyſic* has now gone through between twenty and thirty editions; yet this, we think, is the firſt attack that has been made upon it by any of the faculty, though its author has endeavoured to give the world very unfavourable ideas of phyſicians and apothecaries, both as to their abilities and integrity. With a good intention, and much credulity, Mr Weſley, it muſt be owned, has preſcribed many remedies that are trifling, and ſome that are pernicious. Of the latter claſs is N° 683. "To one poiſoned. *Give one or two drachms of diſtilled verdigris; it vomits in an inſtant.*" Some juſt animadverſions on this in the Gazeteer of Dec. 25. 1775, "as being ſufficient to poiſon twenty or thirty people," gave riſe to theſe Remarks. And in truth Mr Weſley's ſaying, in anſwer, that "this is a mere blunder of the printer (*drachms* for *grains*) in *one* or more of the editions," when it has actually been found in many more *, and it is ſuppoſed has paſſed through all; and when *drams* and *grains* are ſo unlike, that no printer could eaſily miſtake them; — and his only advertiſing the error in one or two papers, inſtead of cancelling the leaf, — are not conſiſtent with his uſual candour and humanity.

From ſuch a miſcellaneous production it is difficult to know what to ſelect: we ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, with one or two paragraphs, which we think may be generally uſeful.—"Mr Weſley (ſays this writer) has given ſundry directions reſpecting young children, and their diſeaſes; but I muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that he has never once recommended *Godfrey's Cordial*. And, indeed, this is a very pernicious opiate, however frequently it may be adminiſtered by ignorant nurſes. They give it to children for their own eaſe, without conſidering or underſtanding its tendency. It has unqueſtionably been productive of much miſchief; it tends to ruin the conſtitution of children; and the conſequences of taking it have been much more frequently fatal than is generally apprehended. It is the earneſt wiſh of the writer, that this hint may be duly attended to by parents, and thoſe who have the care of young children. The ſtate of our national population is at too low an ebb, for the lives of children to be ſacrificed to the ignorance of old women, or to the indolence of nurſes."

This caution is doubtleſs highly proper; we wiſh therefore to extend it as much as poſſible; and may it ſink deep into the hearts of all nurſes, all parents, who peruſe this article! When they know that this ſleep is *the ſleep of death*, as being procured merely by intoxication, no other arguments ſurely can be wanting to prevail with them to reſtrain and aboliſh the uſe of this deſtructive dram.

The other paſſage we ſhall ſelect may be uſeful to another branch of our readers, the drinkers of punch. "I have often obſerved, (ſays this practitioner), upon inquiring, when ſent for to patients affected with complaints of the ſtomach or bowels, that they had overnight, or the preceding day, drank punch; and, from the effects, and the ſmell of the matters thrown up, had every reaſon to think, that, inſtead of lemon-juice, the acid uſed was the vitriolic ſpirit; and indeed it is hardly poſſible for any one to know, in ſuch a farrago as punch, what kind of ingredients it conſiſts of." To prevent ſuch bad conſequences, he adviſes the punch-drinkers to become punch-makers; and alſo diſſuades the making it with preſerved lemon juice, "as it is always running into new fermentations; and though not ſo bad as vitriol, yet it is by no means ſo wholeſome as the juice when ſqueezed immediately from the fruit itſelf."

Juſt and ſeaſonable as theſe and many other obſervations are, much more weight would they have had with the reader, and reflected much more credit on the writer, if leſs *lemon-juice* had been ſqueezed into them: if they had been free from a ſourneſs and rancour full as naſeating as the *vitriolic ſpirit*, with which a man of Mr Weſley's acknowledged abilities, and (we muſt add) integrity and zeal in *the labour of love*, deſerves not to be treated, however fallible and miſtaken he may be in his preſcriptions both for the ſoul and body, politic [and] as well

* "The 5th, the 8th, and the 16th," mentioned by this writer: to which may be added "the 10th and 13th," now lying before us.

well as natural. Such treatment may irritate and provoke, but can never convince or conciliate an opponent. Yet, ſtrange as it ſeems, "Mr H. has no perſonal animoſity againſt Mr W. to whom he is totally unknown" We are ſorry that he does not know himſelf. G.

Fine Arts.

A deſcription of that admirable ſtructure, the cathedral church of Saliſbury. With the chapels, monuments, grave-ſtones, and their inſcriptions. To which is prefixed, an account of old Sarum. Illuſtrated with copperplates. 4to. 7 s. 6 d. *Baldwin.*

A deſcription of Killarney. 3 s. *Dodſley.* —— Written with good taſte, and cannot fail to gratify the lovers of natural and topical beauty. M.

Plays and Poetry.

The Bankrupt. A comedy, in three acts. By Samuel Foote, Eſq; 1 s. 6 d. *Kearſley.* —— Though we do not entirely concur with ſome modern critics, who ſeem inclined to exclude ſentiment from comedy, yet *humour* muſt be allowed to be the life and ſoul of that ſpecies of compoſition. A comedy without humour is as extravagant an idea, as a tragedy without paſſion, or an epic poem without the ſublime. Common life is its object, and humour its inſtrument. The copy muſt not only be faithful, but ludicrous; and every comic writer ſhould, like the author whoſe piece now lies before us, endeavour to be a kind of Hogarth of the drama. C.

Poems: Edward and Iſabella; Elegy on the death of a child. 2 s. White. —— The firſt of theſe poems recites the unhappineſs that accrued to each of the parties mentioned in the title, from the infidelity of Iſabella. There occur in it ſome ſentiments which have a claim to elegiac tenderneſs, though the pathos is not uniformly ſupported. C.

Ode to Mr Pinchpeck, upon his newly invented candle-ſnuffers 6 d. *Almon.* —— A little ſprightly *jeu d' eſprit*, ſeaſoned with ſome whimſical pleaſantry, and a few grains of ſatirical humour. C.

The Crucifixion: a poem. By T. L. O'-beirne. 1 s. 6 d. *Robinſon.* —— We have met with feebler compoſitions on the ſubject. M.

M'Fingal; a modern epic poem. 1 s. 6 d. Philadelphia printed; London reprinted, for *Almon.* —— A doggerel rhapſody, without wit, humour, or any diſcoverable deſign. C. — An American Hudibraſtic; but the hero's politics are reverſed, as he eſpouſes, what the Americans ſtyle, the *Tory* cauſe. — We here find wit, and humour, and barbarous rhymes, as frequent as in the Britiſh Hudibras: nor does the Yankey Poet ſeem, as far as we may judge from a performance ſo comparatively ſmall, in any reſpect, inferior to his predeceſſor, of merry memory. M.

The firſt canto of the Revolution: an epic poem. By Charles Crawford, Eſq; 4to. 1 s. 6 d *Becket.* —— To conſiſt of twelve.

Additions to the works of Alexander Pope, Eſq; together with many original poems and letters of contemporary writers, never before publiſhed 2 vols. 6 s. boards. *Baldwin.* —— The ſcattered remains of Pope, Prior, Gay, &c. &c. As theſe pieces are undoubtedly genuine, they are proportionably valuable. A great part of them has never before appeared in print: and if ſome few ſhould be regarded as too minute and unimportant, they may be eaſily excuſed for the ſake of others, which are confeſſedly intereſting and curious. C.

The haunch of veniſon, a poetical epiſtle to Lord Clare. By the late Dr Goldſmith. 1 s. 6 d. *Kearſley.* —— Genuine. C.

Extracts from Pope's tranſlation correſponding with the beauties of Homer, ſelected from the Iliad, by William Holwell, B. D. 4 s. *Rivington.* —— A proper companion to the Beauties of Homer ſelected from the original Greek. C.

EDINBURGH.

Deiſm ſelf-refuted; or, An examination of the principles of Infidelity ſcattered throughout the different works of M. Rouſſeau. In form of letters. By M. Bergier, D. D. Tranſlated from the 4th edition, printed at Paris. 1775. 2 vols. 5 s. ſewed. *Elliot.*

Eight anatomical tables of the human body; containing the principal parts of the ſkeletons and muſcles repreſented in the large tables of Albinus: to which are added conciſe explanations. By John Innes. [xxxvii. 622.] 6 s. in boards. *Elliot.*

Hiſtorical Law-tracts. Edit. 3. With additions and corrections. [By Lord Kames.] 6 s. *Cadell, London; Bell, and Creech, Edinburgh.*

A philoſophical and political hiſtory of the ſettlements and trade of the Europeans in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Tranſlated from the French by J. Juſtamond, M. A. To which is added a ſet of proper maps. A new edition [xxxvii. 724], with great corrections and improvements. 4 vols. 14 s. in boards. *Cadell, London; Balfour, and Elliot, Edinburgh.*

Eſſay upon the queſtion, What proportion of the produce of arable land ought to be paid as rent to the landlord? By Alexander Wedderburn, Eſq; of St Germains. 4to. 1 s. 6 d. *Balfour.*

A collection of the Engliſh Poets: containing the poetical works of Pope, Dryden, Swift, Prior, Gay, Shenſtone, Pomfret, Gray and Littleton, Thomſon, Young. In 20 vols. Vol. 1.—4. 1 s. each ſewed. *Aberdeen, Boyle; Elliot, Edinburgh.*

A

A Familiar Epiſtle from America.

EXcuſe me, dear friend, I can't think it true,
Tho' Solomon ſays it, that nothing is new:
Had he liv'd in theſe times we had rather been told,
Our Weſt World's ſo new, it has nothing that's old:
But ſhould he inſiſt his old way to have it,
I would beg leave to aſk of this old ſon of David
A few little queſtions; as where he e'er ſaw
Men legally puniſh'd for not breaking the law;
Tarr'd, feather'd, and carted, for drinking Bohea,
And by force and oppreſſion compell'd to be free?
The ſame men maintaining, that all human kind
Are, and have been, and ſhall be, as free as the wind;
Yet impaling and burning their ſlaves for believing
The truth of the leſſons they're conſtantly giving;—
Or what financiers, politicians, or ſages,
In the paſt or the antediluvian ages,
He ever had ſeen, ever heard of, or read,
Who to raiſe funds for war firſt aboliſh'd their trade?
And, having all channels of commerce obſtructed,
By which gold and ſilver to ſtates are inducted,
In an inſtant more riches from paper produce,
And the quill of a grey cabaliſtical gooſe,
Than all the diſciples from ſage Roſicruſius
Ever made from their taliſmans, ſtones, and their cruces.

Nor only from nothing our money appears,
From nothing our hopes, and from nothing our fears;
From nothing our ſtateſmen, our army, and fleet,
From nothing they came, and to nought they'll retreat,
And no arms they handle ſo well as their feet.

Down at night a bricklayer, a carpenter lies,
Next ſun a Lycurgus, a Solon doth riſe;
While doctors, who never made curing their trade,
Give a bolus of iron, or a pill all of lead.
But ſtill counteracted by blunders and fate,
Tho' they murder'd in friendſhip, they ſpare in their hate.
Prieſts, tailors, and coblers, fill with heroes the camp,
And ſailors, like craw-fiſh, crawl out of each ſwamp:
Self-created from nought, like a muſhroom we ſee
Spring an * able Commander by land and by ſea;
Late of Tories the Prince, and his country's great foe,
Now the Congreſs's Chairman, a ſplit-ſhirted † beau:
All titles of honour and profit do wait on
Judge, General, Counſellor, Admiral Drayton,
Who never ſmell'd powder, nor handled a rope,
But infallible more than Lord Peter the Pope;
Who makes fleſh and blood of his bread and his wine,
‡ While Drayton of ſchooners makes ſhips of the line,
Makes all laws of mechanics and nature knock under,
Can cram in an egg-ſhell a twenty-four pounder;
Can burn in an inſtant the whole Britiſh navy,
And eat up an army without ſalt or gravy.

* *Suppoſed to be a gentleman formerly confidant to Lord G. M. and then loaded with all the odium of the patriots, on account of his attachment to government. He was appointed one of the Judges in South Carolina by a Lieutenant-Governor; but the appointment was not confirmed, and another gentleman was ſent out from home; immediately on which, as it happened, Mr D. turned flaming patriot; at leaſt it is ſo reported.*

† *The uniform of the South-Carolina rebels is a hunting-ſhirt, ſuch as the farmers ſervants in England.*

‡ *Theſe lines allude to D.'s ordering a little fleet of ſchooners to be fitted out from the port of Charleſtown; on board of one of them he ordered 24 nine-pounders, but ſhe was ſo ſmall, that it was found ſhe could not even float with above 12 of ſuch guns on board.*

The difference between Wit and Humour.

AMINTA to FLORIO.

[*From the ſecond volume of Poetical Amuſements at a villa near Bath, lately publiſhed.*]

AMINTA.

THE difference, Florio, point me out
'Twixt real Wit and Humour;
Remove at once each wavering doubt
That grows on public rumour.

Say, which can boaſt the better half,
Life's ſorrows to beguile?
Or why, with humour ſure to laugh,
Wit only makes us ſmile.

FLORIO.

In *that* the playful child we trace,
This is of manlier kind;
One claims the empire of the face,
The other of the mind.

The tale well told, the light-ſpun jeſt,
The imitative vein,
From Humour ſtill impart the zeſt
To Frolic's jocund reign.

In Wit, ideas well combin'd
Juſt images create;
We taſte a joy of different kind,
More poignant, leſs elate.

So when two heroes of the ſtage,
With rival paſſion ſtrove,
Each crowded audience to engage
The teſt of Romeo's love.

To Barry ſhouts of loud applauſe
Came thundering on the ear;
To Garrick, true to Nature's cauſe,
Her tribute was a tear.

An

An OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, *ſpoken by Mr* GARRICK *the laſt time of his performing, "towards increaſing a fund for the relief of thoſe who from their infirmities ſhall be obliged to retire from the ſtage."*

A Veteran ſee! whoſe laſt act on the ſtage,
Intreats your ſmiles for ſickneſs and for age;
Their cauſe I plead — plead it in heart and mind,
A fellow-feeling makes one wond'rous kind
Might we but hope your zeal would not be leſs
When I am gone, to patroniſe diſtreſs;
That hope obtain'd, the wiſh'd-for end ſecures,
To *ſoothe* their cares, who oft have lighten'd *yours*.
Shall the great heroes of celeſtial line,
Who drank full bowls of Greek and Roman wine:
Cæſar and Brutus, Agamemnon, Hector,
Nay Jove himſelf, who here has quaff'd his nectar!
Shall they who *govern'd* Fortune, cringe and court her,
Thirſt in their age, and call in vain for porter?
Like Belisarius, tax the pitying ſtreet,
With *Date obolum* to all they meet?
Sha'n't I, who oft have drench'd my hands in gore,
Stabb'd many, poiſon'd ſome, beheaded more;
Who numbers ſlew in battle on this plain,
Sha'n't I, the ſlayer, try to feed the ſlain?
Brother to all, with equal love I view,
The men who ſlew me, and the men I ſlew:
I muſt, I will this happy project ſeize,
That thoſe too old to die, may live with eaſe.
Suppoſe *the babes* I ſmother'd in the Tower,
By chance, or ſickneſs, loſe their acting pow'r.
Shall *they*, once Princes, worſe than all be ſerv'd!
In childhood murder'd, and when murder'd ſtarv'd?
Matrons half-raviſh'd for your recreation,
In age, ſhou'd never want ſome conſolation:
Can I, *Young Hamlet* once, to Nature loſt,
Behold, oh horrible! my Father's Ghoſt,
With griſly beard — pale cheek — ſtalk up and down,
And he, the Royal Dane, want half a crown?
Forbid it Ladies, Gentlemen forbid it,
Give joy to age, and let them ſay — *You* did it:
To you, *ye Gods**! I make my laſt appeal,
You have a right to judge as well as feel;
Will your *high wiſdoms* to our ſcheme incline,
That *Kings*, *Queens*, *Heroes*, *Gods*, and *Ghoſts* may dine?
Olympus ſhakes, ! — that omen all ſecures;
May every joy you give be tenfold *yours*.

A Liberal Expoſtulation.

MIſers! while, endleſs, brooding o'er your ſtore,
What wretched folly can you thus bewitch,
That you ſhould chuſe to *live* extremely poor,
Only that you may *die* extremely rich?

* *To the upper gallery.*

To Gen. CARLETON, *on his putting the rebels before Quebec to flight.*

FOR future laurels, ſav'd by Heav'n from harms,
Behold again the Veteran in arms;
Whoſe ſteel in crimſon at the Havanna dy'd,
With Spain's correction — was Britannia's pride;
Who, when Rebellion darted forth her head,
And, deluge like, the Continent o'erſpread,
Amidſt the conqueſts by ſurpriſe the gain'd,
Still kept the tenor of his fame unſtain'd
And in his little ſkiff, like Cæſar, paſt,
To be careſs'd by victory at laſt:
On the ſame ſpot behold his glory ſoar,
Where mighty Wolf's immortal grew before;
Alike the friends and guardians of the ſtate,
Champions of war, and harbingers of fate;
With life, dear purchas'd, what 'twas his to gain,
'Tis yours with deathleſs honour to maintain,
Inſure the glories of your country's name,
And nobly fill the New World with her fame;
Still may the gods the patriot regard,
And powerful princes like the gods reward.

V. N.

VERSES addreſſed to Mr TAIT, *on reading his Poetical Legends.* [264.] *

HOW ſweet are the ſtrains of the Muſe
Which Nature and Fancy inſpire!
Her ſtrains which ſo ſoftly diffuſe
Thro' the boſom each gentle deſire!

To thee all the merit belongs;
The nymphs, in the jeſſamine bower,
With rapture repeat thy ſoft ſongs,
And the ſhepherd confeſſes their power.

But not to thy numbers alone,
Thy merit, dear youth, we confine,
For our praiſes would ſtill be thy own,
For thy noble, thy godlike deſign.

In ſummer we've oft ſeen the plain
Burnt up by the ſun's pow'rful ray,
But a ſhow'r will revive it again,
And make every object look gay.

And as the ſoft ſhow'r chears the field,
Which without it had ſoon been laid waſte,
So thy ſoft-flowing numbers will yield
Relief to the *ſick* and *diſtreſt*.

Pale Sorrow no longer ſhall mourn,
The wounded ſhall riſe from his bed,
And the widows and orphans forlorn,
Shall weave a fair wreathe for thy head.

The gods ſhall thy labours reward,
Thy country to praiſe thee ſhall join,
And tho' my eſteem and regard
Are trifles, dear ſhepherd, they're thine.

MIRA.

* *By particular deſire of the author, the profits ariſing from this publication are to be paid in to the fund* for the relief of his Majeſty's ſick and wounded troops, and of the widows and orphans of the ſoldiers ſlain in America.

VER-

VERSES addreſſed to MIRA. *By the author of* Poetical Legends.

AH MIRA! you flatter the ſwain,
You tell him his numbers are ſweet,
You ſay (and 'tis that makes him vain)
That the virgins his verſes repeat.

For is there a ſhepherd, ſweet maid!
Who loves not the praiſe of the fair?
Let him fly to the yew's darkeſt ſhade,
And chant his dull ſongs to deſpair.

For me I'll ne'er covet renown
But that which the fair can beſtow;
And ſhould they once cruelly frown,
No longer my verſes ſhould flow.

But, MIRA, your tribute of praiſe,
To *Damon* can never belong;
For rude are the ſtrains he can raiſe,
And careleſs, in ſooth, is his ſong.

Nor can he, fair damſel, pretend
To the merit you give the deſign;
Nay, MIRA, he'll boldly contend,
Much more of that merit is thine.

For as in an ominous hour
His thanks to the Muſe he addreſs'd,
Becauſe it was then in his pow'r,
Fond wiſh! to relieve the diſtreſs'd:

"Ah be not conceited," ſhe ſaid,
"Nor think all the merit thy own;
The tribute of praiſe muſt be paid
To thy kind-hearted readers alone.

And boaſt not too much of thyſelf;
To them ſhall my thanks be expreſt;
For they to the poor give their *pelf*;
You *words*, which are trifles at beſt."

But ſince my dear MIRA approves
The humble attempts of her ſwain,
Fond Echo ſhall tell thro' the groves,
Sweet note! that ſhe ſung not in vain.

Her ſtrains, when the ſhepherds ſhall hear,
With me their kind efforts they'll join,
The hearts of th' afflicted to chear,
For MIRA approves the deſign.

The gods then ſhall fondly look down
With a ſmile on BRITANNIA's lov'd coaſt,
Beſtowing the palm of renown
On thoſe whoſe kind hearts give the moſt.

A BON MOT.

HIS Majeſty's very numerous creation of *Iriſh Peerages*, puts me in mind of a *bon mot* of Harwood, the famous Iriſh Counſellor.—Paſſing through Drogheda, he went to call upon his friend the Mayor, who was by trade a grocer: How fares my old friend? ſays the counſellor.—Oh! by my ſhoul, never worſe! Why, what's the matter? "How the devil ſhall I ſell my cheeſe and butter now the Duke of Dorſet has made me a Knight?"—"Poh! Poh! (ſays Harwood) hold your tongue you old fool: by *Jeſus!* you're very well off, that he did not make you a LORD!"

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

UNITED PROVINCES. [149.]

"*Rotterdam, May* 20. Since the beginning of March to the preſent time, no leſs than ſeven veſſels have ſailed, and three are up, and will ſail in eighteen days hence, for Surinam, and other Dutch ſettlements, all loaded with German and Poliſh emigrants to ſettle there; moſt of whom would have gone for Britiſh America, had it not been on account of the preſent diſturbances."

FRANCE. [150.]

"*Marſeilles, June* 2. The diſpute between G. Britain and her colonies proves very advantageous to the commercial nations in the ſouth of Europe, as it cauſes the North-American commerce to flow into them, which was formerly ſecured to the Engliſh, and was very lucrative to that nation. At preſent trade ſeems more than uſually briſk here; and by advices from Spain and Portugal we likewiſe judge, that thoſe people ardently embrace the opportunity offered them of opening new ſources of riches and proſperity. Anglo-American ſhips frequently enter the ports of Cadiz and Liſbon."

SPAIN. [48.]

His Catholic Majeſty, animated by an earneſt deſire of promoting to a greater degree than hitherto, the happineſs of his ſubjects in the north of California, and in giving them a due ſenſe of the effects of his paternal care, had cauſed ſeveral expeditions, within theſe few years, to be made to thoſe parts. The firſt took place in 1769. The St Charles and St Antony packet-boats, under the command of Don Vincent Viſa, and Don John Perez, ſailed in that year from Cape St Luke.—The ſecond expedition was in 1770. A captain of dragoons, Don Gaſpar Portola, was appointed chief in command, and he put to ſea from the Preſidial of Loretto. The port of Monte Rey was ſurveyed by him as far as 36 deg. 40 min. of latitude; and he founded there a garriſon and miſſion, by the name of *St Charles*.—A third expedition was entered upon in 1774; and the frigate St James, commanded by the ſub-lieutenant of marines, Don John Perez, ſailed to 55 deg. 49 min. latiude; and he, in his approaches at ſeveral times to the coaſt, ſaw

ſaw and converſed with Indians of an exceeding mild diſpoſition, pleaſing aſpect, and all decently habited.—In conſequence of a ſucceſs ſo proſperous, his Catholic Majeſty reſolved to ſend to the port of St Blas in New Gallicia, ſome officers of marines, to encourage, in as great a degree as might be practicable, this navigation. Purſuant to his orders, the lieutenant of the ſhip, Don Bruno de Eceta, commandant of the St James frigate; the lieutenant of the Don John Francis de la Bodega frigate, commandant of the Golette la Sonora; and the lieutenant of the Don John de Ayala frigate, commandant of the St Charles packet-boat, ſet ſail the beginning of 1775, in order to proceed to Monte Rey. The firſt of theſe three officers arrived at the 50th degree of latitude, the ſecond at the 58th, and the third at the 37th and 42 minutes. In this voyage they ſurveyed the whole intermediate coaſt, and ſeveral parts of the ſame coaſt, therein comprehending the great Port of St Francis; and they likewiſe ſurveyed ſeveral rivers, the banks of which they found inhabited by a numerous people, of a mild and tractable diſpoſition.

"*Gibraltar, March* 25. Since my laſt of Nov. 14. the Hanoverian troops are arrived, three battalions, about 500 men each; the whole commanded by Col. La Motte, an old experienced officer. Notwithſtanding thoſe troops were ſo little accuſtomed to the ſea, after a long voyage every man landed in perfect health, not a ſick man or woman among ſuch a number. The Hanoverians are ſtout-bodied men, but not ſo well limbed as the Britiſh. They are a very ſober, regular people, and very obedient to command, and they and the Britiſh ſoldiery agree perfectly well." [150. xxxvii. 456.]

EAST INDIES. [xxxvii. 518.]

"The only piece of news I have to communicate," (ſo runs a letter from Calcutta, received in January) "is the death of Sujaw-ul-Dowlah, Nabob of the kingdom of Oud, who was murdered in a moſt extraordinary manner. In his late wars with a neighbouring tribe, he had taken, among other priſoners, the chief's wife, who had the misfortune to fall in battle. The Nabob being captivated with the beauty of this woman, one night had her brought into his private apartment; and juſt as he was about to abuſe her, ſhe drew a ſmall knife, which ſhe had artfully concealed in her hair, to elude the ſearch of the eunuchs, and ſtabbed him. Thus he fell a ſacrifice to his unbounded luſt, at the age of about ſixty, leaving upwards of twenty ſons behind him."

An officer in the Eaſt Indies writes thus to his brother in England, from Amboor, Sept. 25. 1775. "There have been ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the Bombay eſtabliſhment, and a whole company of European grenadiers cut off. Col. Keating commanded them to advance to take poſſeſſion of ſome field-pieces fronting our left wing. As ſoon as they had marched to ſome diſtance, a body of horſe appeared, when too late for them to retreat. Two captains were killed, the ſubalterns wounded, and only forty men returned out of 200, the reſt being killed or deſperately wounded."

"*London, May* 2. A pirate taken in the Eaſt Indies by his Majeſty's ſhip the Seahorſe, is ſaid to be a French frigate that ſailed from Breſt about four years ago; the crew of which, after murdering the captain, appointed an Iriſhman (the ſecond lieutenant) to the command of her; when they turned pirates, went firſt into the South ſeas, and from thence to the Eaſt Indies; ſince which period they have had many engagements with foreign ſhips of war, but always had eſcaped, till falling in with the Seahorſe, which fought her, yard-arm and yard-arm, for near five glaſſes, wherein the pirate being diſmaſted, and unable to get away, ſhe was, at length, obliged to ſtrike her colours, which were Dutch, to the Seahorſe."

A letter from Bengal ſays, "The Old Rajah Nundcomar is at laſt fallen by his own villanies. He was brought to trial on the charge of a forgery concerning the eſtate of Bolluckidaſs. After an examination of many days, in the courſe of which every evidence he produced was detected of perjury, the jury brought him in Guilty; and on the 5th inſtant (Auguſt) at half paſt nine in the morning, he ſuffered by the hands of the hangman. He conducted himſelf with decency; and at the place of execution acknowledged the juſtneſs of the ſentence by which he ſuffered."—The ſentence was pronounced by the Chief Juſtice, Sir Elijah Impey, viz.—"Acquaint the priſoner, That he has been convicted of a capital offence, for which his life becomes forfeited to the law; that he has been convicted,

convicted, after a long examination. After hearing his counsel to every point, in which he could prove his innocence, or in which he could object to the indictment, the jury have found him guilty of the charge; and the court are of opinion, that there are no objections in law in his favour; that he has been convicted of a crime, under all its circumstances, highly aggravated; that his rank and his fortune made a desire to derive money by unjust means, more atrocious than to a man in indigent circumstances; that the offence he has committed has been against that very person who intrusted his fortune to him; that it was to defraud the relations and friends of that person, who, in his lifetime, lived under his protection; and who, at his death, as appeared in evidence, committed, in a most pathetic manner, his widow, relations, and all that were dear to him, to his protection; that he has made a scandalous and flagitious use of that situation he was put into by his dying friend; that this, a great crime itself, has been, by the manner in which it was committed, highly aggravated; that the jury, by finding him guilty, have declared his whole defence was supported by perjured witnesses; that, not contented with endeavouring to support his innocence by perjury, he went so far as to fling the charge of perjury upon his prosecutors; that he has added crime to crime, and perjury to perjury: He must, therefore, hear the sentence of the law, and hear it as a definitive sentence, that he must not look up for mercy. It would be cruel in the court to flatter him with mercy, when there is no intention to extend it. I must, therefore, undergo the severe task of pronouncing judgement against him. You must return from hence, &c. to the place from whence you came; from thence you are to be carried to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck till you are dead; and the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

After the assizes were ended, addresses were presented, by the grand jury, the principal inhabitants and free merchants, and the Armenians residing in Calcutta, respectively, to the Chief Justice and the rest of the Judges, applauding them for their impartial and unprejudiced conduct throughout the term of the sessions, as well as for their upright distribution of justice in general.

Our East India company have now, 'tis said, a passage open as far as Tartary; and they have lately sent an embassy to the Grand Lama, in consequence of an ambassador to Calcutta from that prince, who is very desirous of cultivating a friendship with the British nation. —According to letters from Madrass, received at the India-house, June 10. new sources of commerce have been lately discovered, and a very advantageous trade established with the Lama of Tibet.

A gentleman at Liverpool has received a letter from Madrass, of October 15. 1775, in which the writer says, "The Red seas are discovered to be more navigable than hitherto asserted. I have been in company with a person, who is lately returned from the very head of that once famous sea, where a small desert isthmus, of three days march only, separates the Asian and European markets; consequently, the cut must be very short to England. That the ships have hitherto generally failed in their attempts to discover or trade in those (said to be) dangerous seas, was owing to the seasons not answering ships from these parts; and they were near two years exploring what may be accomplished in six months; and trade was encouraged by the Arabs, and their kings or beys.—The person with whom I was in company, saw their grand fleet, consisting of six ships of about 1000 tons each, and many smaller vessels. They were worked and navigated in the manner described by the Jews, and St Paul particularly. Many inconveniences in exploring those seas, are now easily removed. The adventurers lost two ships and a large sum of money on the expedition; the supercargo, knowing little of trade, saw his own goods sold wholesale at 70 per cent. advance on his sale in three weeks."

ENGLAND. [218.]

The royal assent has been given to the following bills.

To these, by commission, May 13. viz.

An act to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, to order and allow, out of the money arising by the coinage-duty, a certain sum therein mentioned, for the expence of prosecuting offenders against the laws relating to the coin, over and above the sum yearly allowed for that purpose.

An act for allowing further time for the exportation of, or payment of the duties upon, bugles when warehoused, upon importa-

tion into this kingdom; to impower the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms to order all bonds relative to that revenue, upon which no proſecutions have been had for the ſpace of five years, (except bonds for duties, and for the good behaviour of officers in the execution of their duty), to be deſtroyed; and for repealing the duties upon feather beds imported into this kingdom, and for charging the ſame with the like duties as are payable upon feathers for beds.

An act for granting a bounty upon flax-ſeed, the growth of the United Provinces, or of the Auſtrian Netherlands, imported into Ireland, for a limited time.

An act to indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices and employments; and to indemnify juſtices of the peace, or others, who have omitted to regiſter or deliver in their qualifications within the time limited by law, and for giving further time for thoſe purpoſes; and to indemnify members and officers, in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whoſe admiſſions have been omitted to be ſtamped according to law, or, having been ſtamped, have been loſt or miſlaid, and for allowing them time to provide admiſſions duly ſtamped; and to give further time to ſuch perſons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and ſolicitors.

An act for the encouragement and improvement of the pilchard-fiſhery carried on within the bay of St Ives in the county of Cornwall.

An act to remove the danger of fire among the ſhips in the port of Briſtol, by preventing the landing certain commodities on the preſent quays; and for providing a convenient quay, and proper places for landing and ſtoring the ſame; and for regulating the ſaid quay, and the lighters, boats, and other veſſels carrying goods for hire, within the ſaid port of Briſtol; and for other purpoſes therein mentioned.

An act more effectually to prevent the ſtealing of deer, and to repeal ſeveral former ſtatutes made for the like purpoſe.

An act for ſecuring a fund belonging to certain perſons of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden, applicable to charitable uſes, and for other purpoſes.

An act for veſting in John Liardet, clerk, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, the ſole uſe and property of a certain compoſition, or cement, of his invention, throughout his Majeſty's kingdom of Great Britain, and in the colonies and plantations abroad, for a limited time.

And to twelve bills relating to roads, and for other matters of police, and thirty-eight private bills; none of which relate to Scotland. Three of the private bills are for diſſolving marriages, viz. John Elliot, M. D. with Grace Dalrymple; Charles Horneck, Eſq; with Sarah Kepple; and Thomas Williams with Ann Lautware.

To theſe, by commiſſion, May 21. viz.

An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans or exchequer-bills, for the ſervice of the year 1776.

*An act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral duties on coaches, and other rates and duties upon indentures, leaſes, bonds, and other deeds, and upon cards, dice, and news-papers; and for raiſing the ſum of two millions by annuities and a lottery * to be attended with annuities.*—[The duties by this act impoſed are, for every coach, &c. with four wheels, 20 s. per ann. additional to the 4 l. impoſed by the act 20° Geo. II. [ix. 143.]; for ſtage-coaches, &c. (exempted by the former act) 5 l. per ann. [two-wheel carriages not additionally taxed]; for every ſkin of parchment, or ſheet of paper, on which any deed ſhall be written, 1 s. additional to the 1 s. 6 d. impoſed by the act 12° Ann. and 30° Geo. II.; for every newſpaper, one halfpenny additional to a tax of one penny impoſed by former acts; for every pack of playing cards, 6 d. additional; and for every pair of dice, 2 s. 6 d. additional. All the duties commence from and after July 5. 1776, except thoſe on cards and dice, which commence from and after June 1. 1776.]

An act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe

* Scheme of the STATE-LOTTERY, 1776

Prizes.		*Value.*		*Amount.*
2	of	£. 20,000	is	£. 40,000
3	—	10,000	—	30,000
5	—	5,000	—	25,000
12	—	2,000	—	24,000
20	—	1,000	—	20,000
50	—	500	—	25,000
200	—	100	—	20,000
600	—	50	—	30,000
19,100	—	20	—	382,000
19,992 prizes.				596,000
The firſt drawn for the firſt three days, 1000 l.				3000
The laſt drawn ticket				1000
40,008 blanks.				
60,000 tickets				600,000

the

the ſum of one million for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned.

An act for the further encouragement of the whale-fiſhery carried on from Great Britain and Ireland, and the Britiſh dominions in Europe; and for regulating the fees taken by the officers of the cuſtoms in the iſland of Newfoundland.

An act for granting further time for allowing the drawback upon the exportation of muſlin and callicoes imported by the Eaſt-India company, in the years 1773 and 1774; for allowing further time to the ſaid company to expoſe to ſale ſuch bohea and ſinglo teas and coffee as remained unſold on the 5th day of April 1776, and alſo ſuch bohea teas as ſhall be imported on or before a certain time, and for allowing the drawbacks on the exportation of ſuch teas and coffee; and for granting further time for allowing the drawback on the exportation of coffee imported in the ſhip Shrewſbury in the year 1773.

An act to continue an act 5° Geo. II. "to prevent the committing of frauds by bankrupts;" and alſo an act 14° Geo. III. "to prohibit the importation of light ſilver coin of this realm from foreign countries into Great Britain or Ireland, and to reſtrain the tender thereof beyond a certain ſum."

An act for allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat and other articles to his Majeſty's ſugar-colonies in America, and to the iſland of St Helena, and to other ſettlements belonging to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, and of biſcuit and peaſe to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Bay Chaleur, and Labrador; and for indemnifying all perſons with reſpect to adviſing or carrying into execution his Majeſty's orders of council already made, for allowing the exportation of wheat and other articles.

An act for the relief of inſolvent debtors; and for the relief of bankrupts in certain caſes.

An act for allowing corn, grain, and flour, imported into the port of Preſton, to be landed without payment of the duties, under the like reſtrictions as corn, grain, and flour is allowed to be landed at the ſeveral ports mentioned in an act 13° Geo. III. "to regulate the importation and exportation of corn."

An act for erecting a light-houſe or light-houſes and land-marks in or near the port of Cheſter; and for placing buoys upon the banks and ſhoals leading into and in the ſaid port; and for regulating of pilots and perſons towing or tracking of veſſels to and from the city of Cheſter; and for fixing the rates payable for the ſame reſpectively.

An act to declare his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects inheritable to the eſtates of their anceſtors, whether lineal or collateral, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, notwithſtanding their father or mother were aliens. —[On a narrative, that doubts had ariſen, whether the proviſions of a ſtatute 11° and 12° Will. III. would take place in Scotland, it is enacted, That every perſon, being the King's natural-born ſubject, ſhall inherit as heir to any honours, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, although the father or mother, or other anceſtor, through whom the title of ſuch perſon is derived, ſhall be born out of the King's allegiance, as fully and effectually as if ſuch anceſtors had been natural-born or naturalized: Provided, That no perſon ſhall hereby inherit, but ſuch as ſhall be in being, and capable to take ſuch eſtate, at the death of the perſon who ſhall die laſt ſeiſed thereof; and that if the deſcent be caſt upon a daughter, and the alien anceſtor have afterwards a ſon born within the King's dominions, the daughter ſhall be diveſted in favour of ſuch ſon; or in caſe ſuch alien anceſtor have no ſon, but ſhall have one or more daughters afterwards born within the King's dominions, the daughter or daughters ſo afterwards born ſhall inherit in copartnery with the daughter or daughters upon whom the deſcent ſhall be caſt at the death of the anceſtor laſt ſeiſed.]

An act for repealing a clauſe in an act 13° Geo. III. "to explain, amend, and reduce into one act of parliament, the general laws now in being for regulating the turnpike-roads in that part of Great Britain called England, and for other purpoſes," which relate to the counter-ſinking of the tire of the wheels of all waggons, wains, and other carriages to be uſed on turnpike-roads; and for explaining a proviſion in the ſaid act with reſpect to the fellies and tire of carriages having the fellies of the wheels of the gauge of ſix inches or upwards.

And to five bills relating to roads, and other matters of police, and eighteen private bills; none of which relate to Scotland. One of the private bills is an act to diſſolve the marriage of Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, Bt, with the Rt Hon. Lady Sarah Lennox.

To theſe by the King, May 25. viz.

An act for granting to his Majeſty a certain ſum of money out of the ſinking fund; and for applying certain monies, therein mentioned, for the ſervice of the year 1776; and for

for further appropriating the ſupplies granted in this ſeſſion of parliament; for giving further relief to the widows of commiſſion and warrant officers of the Royal Navy; and for making forth duplicates of exchequer-bills, lottery-tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity-orders, and other orders, loſt, burnt, or deſtroyed.

An act to authoriſe, for a limited time, the puniſhment by hard labour of offenders, who, for certain crimes, are or ſhall become liable to be tranſported to any of his Majeſty's colonies and plantations.

An act for obliging the overſeers of the poor, within the ſeveral pariſhes and places within that part of Great Britain called England, to make returns upon oath to certain queſtions ſpecified in the act, relative to the ſtate of their poor; and to authoriſe and require the juſtices of the peace, within their reſpective diviſions and juriſdictions, in the ſeveral counties and cities in England and Wales, to take ſuch returns upon oath, and to cauſe them to be tranſmitted to the clerk of the parliaments.

An act for ſuſpending for a limited time ſo much of an act 13° *Geo. III.* "*to explain, amend, and reduce into one act of parliament, the general laws now in being for regulating the turnpike-roads in that part of Great Britain called England, and for other purpoſes,*" *as is to ſubject carriages having the felloes of the wheels thereof of leſs breadth or gauge than ſix inches to the payment of double tolls; and for vacating contracts for leaſing tolls.*

And to thirteen private bills; one of which only relates to Scotland, viz. *An act for ſettling and ſecuring certain parts of the lands and barony of Corſemichael, called Greenlaw, and others, lying in the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, to and in favour of Iſabel Gordon of Culvennan, widow of William Gordon of Greenlaw, Eſq; for her life, and to and in favour of Alexander Gordon of Culvennan, Eſq; her eldeſt ſon, and the ſame ſeries of heirs in fee-tail, and under the ſame conditions and limitations as are mentioned and contained in a deed of entail, made in the year* 1742, *by John Macculloch of Barholm, and Jean Gordon his wife; and for veſting in the aforeſaid Alexander Gordon and his heirs and aſſigns, in fee-ſimple, the eſtate of Culvennan, and others, lying in the county of Wigton, together with the ſum of* £. 1971 *Sterling.*

One of theſe private bills is an act to diſſolve the marriage of the Rev. John Jenkins, clerk, with Mary Jenkins.

After which his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both Houſes.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE concluſion of the public buſineſs, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, make it proper for me to give you ſome receſs: but I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion without aſſuring you, that the freſh inſtances of your affectionate attachment to me, and of your ſteady attention and adherence to the true intereſts of your country, which you have ſhewn through the whole courſe of your important deliberations, afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

No alteration has happened in the ſtate of foreign affairs ſince your meeting; and it is with pleaſure I inform you, that the aſſurances which I have received of the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral powers in Europe, promiſe a continuance of the general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

It was with real regret and concern that I found myſelf under the neceſſity of aſking of my faithful Commons any extraordinary ſupplies: I thank you for the readineſs and diſpatch with which they have been granted; and they are the more acceptable to me, as you have ſhewn, in the manner of raiſing them, an equal regard to the exigencies of the ſervice, and the eaſe of my people: and you may be aſſured, that the confidence you repoſe in me ſhall be uſed with proper frugality, and applied only to the purpoſes for which it was intended.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

We are engaged in a great national cauſe, the proſecution of which muſt inevitably be attended with many difficulties and much expence; but when we conſider, that the eſſential rights and intereſts of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the iſſue of it, and can have no ſafety or ſecurity but in that conſtitutional ſubordination for which we are contending, I am convinced that you will not think any price too high for the preſervation of ſuch objects.

I will ſtill entertain a hope, that my rebellious ſubjects may be awakened to a ſenſe of their errors, and that, by a voluntary return to their duty, they will juſtify me in bringing about the favourite wiſh of my heart, the reſtoration of harmony, and the re-eſtabliſhment of order and happineſs in every part of my dominions. But if a due ſubmiſſion ſhould not be obtained from ſuch motives and ſuch diſpoſitions on their part, I truſt that I ſhall be able, under the bleſſing of

Providence,

Providence, to effectuate it by a full exertion of the great force with which you have intrusted me."

Then the parliament was prorogued.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting the bills the last day of the session, addressed the King in words to the following effect: That since the commencement of the present session, several wise, salutary, and necessary laws had been enacted; particularly the law for prohibiting all trade and commerce with America, the law for the more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy, and the law for establishing a national militia: That his faithful Commons, with equal assiduity and attention, performed their duty, in the course of a very long and severe session: That the business of America ingrossed the greatest part of their time, and that nothing had been left undone on their part, to bring that matter to a speedy and happy conclusion: That the measures necessary to effect so desirable an end, had brought on a very heavy expence: That nothing had been wanting on the part of his faithful Commons, in order to strengthen the hands of government, for they had voted the most full and ample supplies: That convinced of the justice and necessity of securing the subordinate dependence of America, they had chearfully co-operated in every proposition for securing the duty of his Majesty's subjects in that country, and their obedience to the legislative power of Great Britain: That his faithful Commons, whatever measures may have been taken for the security of both by a proper exertion of the strength of this country, did not wish for conquest, but were desirous of peace and conciliation: And, on the whole, trusting to his Majesty's parental attention to the interests of every part of the empire, they had a full reliance on his Majesty's wisdom and goodness, that the present disputes with America would be happily terminated; and would be established on so firm a basis, and put on so permanent a footing, as to prevent a return of the same evil in times to come.

"*London, April* 19. A most exact scrutiny has been made, by Lord N——'s orders, into the sums possessed by foreigners in the English funds; by which it is said to appear, that the Dutch have in them upwards of fifty-seven millions, the Swiss eight millions, the French one million, and other nations near two millions."

By two orders of council of May 1. and June 21. the bounties to seamen [152.] were continued, by the first till the 30th of June, and by the second till the 31st of August; and by a third, of May 17. the prohibition to export, or carry coastwise, any gun-powder, saltpetre, or any sort of arms or ammunition [106.], is continued for three months from May 23.

"*London, June* 15. We are assured, there are now in Chelsea hospital upwards of 300 wounded soldiers from America; each of whom has received, by direction of a great personage, two guineas for himself, a gunea for his wife, and half a guinea for every child."

Vice-Adm. Montagu sailed from Portsmouth April 1. for his government of Newfoundland. [164.]

The Brunswick troops sailed from Spithead for America, April 4. under convoy of two men of war; and were followed, next day, by Gen. Burgoyne and Col. Phillips. [153.]

"*Portsmouth, May* 6. This afternoon, Commodore Hotham, with all the transports, sailed from St Helen's for North America; and the whole fleet was out of sight at sun-set." *Lond. Gaz.*—— The whole fleet, amounting to upwards of 120 sail, having a part of the Hessian troops, the guards, and the train of artillery, on board, passed by Plymouth on the 9th.—— On the 25th the transports having on board two more Hessian regiments, sailed from St Helen's.

Lord Howe [153.] went on board the Eagle, at Spithead, May 9. and sailed in the evening.

"*Portsmouth, June* 27. Yesterday the transports, having on board the Brunswick troops, and the company of Hanau artillery, sailed from St Helen's, with a fair wind." *Lond. gaz.*

"*Portsmouth, June* 28. This morning the transports, with the remains of the foreign and British troops and light horse, horse ships, and victuallers, under convoy of the Diamond, Unicorn, Lark, and Daphne, fell down to St Helen's; where they are to wait for the remainder of the horse-ships, which 'tis thought will be ready on Monday, and then proceed on their voyage."

"*London, May* 28. The increase of seamen is so great since the increase of the bounty [152], that there are at Chatham, Plymouth, and Portsmouth, 1200

seamen

ſeamen turned on board the guard-ſhips, over and above what were wanted for manning the tranſports; returns of which were ſent from the cheque-books at the above places to the admiralty on Saturday laſt."

"*Gibraltar*, *May* 1. The Engliſh act of parliament againſt the American colonies has been publiſhed here, with orders to put it in execution, and to intercept all armed or trading veſſels which belong to them. In conſequence of which, two frigates are ſailed to cruiſe againſt the Anglo-Americans, one off Carthagena, and the other at the mouth of the Tagus."

On the 29th of May, Col. Guy Johnſon, ſuperintendent of Indian affairs [xxxvii. 679.] ſet out from London, for Falmouth, to imbark for North-America; the two Indian chiefs [106.] being at that port waiting his arrival.

On Saturday, June 8. judgement was pronounced in the court of king's-bench in the caſe of Gen. Smith and Mr Hollis, convicted of bribery, by Mr Juſtice Aſton; the ſubſtance of whoſe ſpeech on the occaſion follows.

"You, Richard Smith, and you Thomas Brand Hollis, Eſqs, have been convicted on a charge, That, both by yourſelves and agents, you did bribe, or cauſe to be bribed, a great majority of the voters at a late election for members to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Hindon, in the county of Wilts. The general charge, as appears by the report of the learned judge who tried the cauſe, was not only made good, but the particular charges applying to moſt of the perſons therein mentioned, and ſaid to be bribed, were fully proved; and in the few inſtances where there was any defect in the ſpecific charges ſo made, there were circumſtances ſufficient to induce the court and the jury to be ſatisfied that you were both guilty of the crimes alledged againſt you. The mode you choſe for procuring yourſelves to be thus corruptly elected, was varied in ſeveral inſtances, though the principle you acted on, and the effect produced thereby, was the ſame. You went down to this borough, with a profeſſed intention, accompanied by open declarations of bribing the electors. One of you (Smith) went publicly to the croſs, and offered yourſelf a candidate, where it was avowed that the voters in your reſpective intereſts were to have five guineas a-man. You thus, in the firſt inſtance, ſtood forth profeſſed enemies to the conſtitution, and violators of the laws of your country. Diſgraceful as the crime you were committing muſt appear to be, to every man who would wiſh to preſerve the freedom of election, you did not even attempt to diſguiſe it. Afterwards, it is true, you varied your mode of conducting this infamous buſineſs, by endeavouring to ſcreen it under the moſt puerile and pitiful evaſions. By the hands of your agents you cauſed the money to be handed out through a hole cut in the wainſcot for the purpoſe; or to be laid on a table, whence, after ſham notes were perfected, the voters took it; or, laſtly, you procured ſome perſon to be dreſſed in a fantaſtic appearannce, to perambulate the town, and to diſtribute the promiſed bribes to ſuch of the electors as engaged themſelves to be in your intereſt at the enſuing election.

The crime of bribery is in itſelf of a moſt ſcandalous and diſgraceful nature; but when we look forward to the conſequences, as applying to the caſe before us, it loudly calls for the moſt condign and exemplary puniſhment. It ſtrikes immediately at the very foundation of our conſtitution, by undermining its ſureſt and beſt ſupport, the freedom of election. It diſſolves the only true connection which can bind the conſtituents and repreſentatives to each other. While on the one hand it prevents proper perſons to be choſen to ſerve in parliament; on the other it takes off thoſe checks on the repreſentative that ought at all times to influence his conduct, that would make him conſult the ſenſe of his conſtituents, and the intereſts of the kingdom at large. Whereas, when the electors are bribed, nothing is ſought on either hand but the mutual private intereſts of the parties. Thus the great fountain of public ſecurity is poiſoned, the great bulwarks of the conſtitution are leaped over or trampled down, and the moſt ſacred laws of the land evaded or openly violated.

When the court came to take the preſent caſe into conſideration, they found it in ſome reſpects totally new; not that perſons had not been before convicted of a ſimilar offence, but that matters had fallen out in the courſe of the proſecution, which created the difference. Your counſel availed themſelves of that, and argued the point of law purely on the ground, that there was no precedent of

ſuch

ſuch a puniſhment as that now about to be inflicted; or that the caſes being the ſame, the precedent was in your favour, as they went no further than the penalties recovered under the ſtatute. The caſes relied on were thoſe of the King and Pitt, and of Neale and Newton; but the court, after maturely deliberating on every thing which your counſel ſuggeſted, diſcovered nothing in either of thoſe caſes ſufficient to ſupport the concluſions they drew from them. The caſe of Pitt in the time of the late King, as reported by Sir James Barrough, was, that he was guilty of bribery; that he had bribed three or four perſons; and that the penalties were recovered from him under the ſtatute. The affair of Eveſham was of the ſame nature; but in neither was there the leaſt mention made of an information for bribery at the common law; for when the court refuſed to grant an information, it was on a proſecution on the ſtatute. The queſtion was not about filing an information on an indictment for an offence at common law, but merely whether the two years were fairly expired to bring an action for the penalties incurred by the ſtatute. This is not the only eſſential difference. The offences, though of the ſame ſpecies, were very different in the degree. Pitt had bribed three or four voters; you have bribed a whole borough, and you have accompanied your corruption with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, as deprive you of the moſt diſtant title to favour or indulgence. But your caſe ſtands clear of every argument urged by your counſel, in reference to your inſtances particularly alluded to. Bribery at all times has been deemed a very great offence at the common law; and as ſuch has been highly puniſhable, according to the degree, and the objects which it was directed to obtain. If, then, we apply the ſpirit of the law to the conſequences of the crime you have been convicted of; when we conſider it is not a partial evil it was intended to be productive of, but an attempt which, if it ſhould ſucceed, would eventually effect the overthrow of our ancient conſtitution, one of the wiſeſt and mildeſt that was ever framed, we are moved by every conſideration of juſtice and example, to inflict a puniſhment ſuited to the enormity of the offence, and ſufficient to deter others in future from the commiſſion of crimes of the like nature. The ſtatute which gives the penalty was framed on account of the notorious corruption practiſed at the election of members to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Bunley. That act was paſſed in aid of the common law, not with a view to abridge it, or entirely ſuperſede its authority. Proceeding by information, as againſt a public offence, a breach of the conſtitution, a public violation of the ancient law of the realm, is a matter extremely different and diſtinct from the penalties provided by the ſtatute, which is more immediately directed to the attainment of private redreſs. The ſtatute provides, that the penalties ſhall accumulate; that in as many inſtances as the offence has been committed, the penalty ſhall accrue. This it does to deter perſons from bribing; but it never meant or intended, that the offence againſt the ſtatute, ſhould be fined away by the incurring thoſe penalties; on the contrary, it leaves the ancient law juſt as it found it; and by no means interferes with the execution of national juſtice.

Another point much inſiſted on by your counſel in extenuation, was, the very great expence you have been already put to in the proſecution of this buſineſs; the vaſt ſums that have been expended in defending your cauſe before the Houſe, the penalties that have been already recovered, and the coſts of the preſent proſecution. In my opinion, every one of thoſe arguments operate the direct contrary way. They add to your crimes, inſtead of extenuating them; for while there remains the moſt indubitable proofs of your guilt, thoſe arguments directly ſhew, that you have obſtinately and pertinaciouſly perſevered in ſupporting and maintaining acts that were in themſelves to the laſt degree corrupt and unjuſtifiable. They, in fact, are the moſt undoubted teſtimonials, that as you had in the firſt inſtance the means of corruption in your power, ſo you intended to ſucceed, and baffle and evade juſtice, by ſimilar means to thoſe by which you were enabled to carry your ſchemes of bribery and corruption into execution. There is one circumſtance that attended your conduct, which, though not properly before the court, ought, in my opinion, to preſs very heavily on your minds, and is well worthy of your moſt ſerious reflection; that is, the repeated perjuries you have been the occaſion of. I dare ſay, in your cooler moments, it

but fill your minds with horror, when you reflect how many perſons you have been the inſtruments in bringing to make the moſt ſolemn appeals to Heaven, to the moſt groſs and flagrant falſehoods; to affirm, in the preſence of Almighty God, that they had no direct intereſt whatever in the vote they were going to give, when at the very inſtant they had the wages of proſtitution in their pockets.

I ſhall conclude what I have to offer, by obſerving the very dangerous tendency corrupting the people muſt have, even as a matter of policy. What can the people at large think of aſſemblies compoſed of perſons thus elected? How can the laws be reverenced or regarded by the people, when thoſe by which they are governed are to be framed by perſons thus choſen? or, what is there to ſtimulate perſons to a faithful and conſcientious diſcharge of their duty, when they know the only ſure recommendation to their conſtituents is their ability to bribe them at the next election? Such a ſyſtem is deſtructive at once of all public and private virtue, and leaves the nation at the mercy of the worſt people in it, ſo they have but the means of carrying their pernicious ſchemes into execution. The firſt inſtance that appears on record of procuring a ſeat in parliament by bribery, was in the 15th of Q. Eliſabeth, when it was diſcovered that one Long had bribed the borough of Weſtbury in the county of Wilts, with the trifling ſum of four pounds to procure himſelf to be corruptly returned. Such was the ſenſe of our anceſtors of the dangerous conſequences of the offence, that the town was ſeverely amerced to the Queen, the writ ſuſpended, and the member removed. Since that time, I fear, the evil has greatly increaſed; and whenever it comes under legal cogniſance, it calls aloud for every poſſible diſcouragement, reprehenſion, and puniſhment, that the law authoriſes. It is, therefore, peculiarly incumbent on thoſe to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice is committed, to fix on ſuch an offence every mark of opprobrium and diſgrace within their power and juriſdiction.

I thought it my duty, previous to my pronouncing the judgement of the court, to give my undiſguiſed ſentiments of the heinouſneſs of the offence, and its deſtructive conſequences to the ſtate, if permitted to prevail. I am now to inform you, Richard Smith and Thomas Brand Hollis, That the court have adjudged, That you are to pay a fine to the King of 1000 marks each, (666 l. 13 s. 4 d.), and that you be impriſoned ſix months, and until you pay the fine; and further, That you Richard Smith, in regard that you have been ſince returned member to ſerve in this preſent parliament for ſaid borough of Hindon, which the court have adjudged to be a great aggravation of your former offence, becauſe, in defiance as it were of the laws of your country, which you have moſt groſsly and ſhamefully violated and ſet at nought, you have recommended yourſelf to the friendſhip and created an influence among voters by the very means which are the objects of the preſent proſecution, and conſequent puniſhment; and that they have reaſon to ſuſpect, that you have procured yourſelf to be returned by ſimilar arts; for thoſe reaſons, I ſay, the court have further adjudged, that you, Richard Smith, at the expiration of the term of your impriſonment, do enter into recogniſances, yourſelf in 1000 l. and two ſureties in 500 l. each, for your good behaviour for three years from ſaid term next enſuing; and that you be not diſcharged from your impriſonment till the ſame be complied with in the manner and terms now expreſſed."

One of the Hindon electors convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury in his evidence before the Houſe of Commons, was brought before the court of king's-bench, June 11.; and received ſentence, to ſtand twice on the pillory in Hindon, with a paper on his forehead, inſcribed, *Wilful and Corrupt Perjury*. Having been carried to Fiſherton gaol, and thence, June 20. to Hindon, he was met on the road by a number of his friends, with two flags, and blue ribands in their hats. The populace treated him very favourably, their attention being taken off in a great meaſure by a perſon mounted on a ſtool, who ſung and ſold an election-ballad, much to their entertainment. He was carried back to Fiſherton gaol in the evening, and underwent the remainder of his ſentence on the Thurſday following.

"*London, May* 18. By returns made from the gaols throughout the kingdom, it appears that there are upwards of 8000 debtors in the different priſons, waiting to take the benefit of the expected inſolvent-act. [333.]

Scot-

SCOTLAND. [278.]

Large orders have been received at Carron, for ſmall cannon, and about the middle of June an agent was at Edinburgh contracting for 1000 tons ſhipping, both for government.

On Friday, April 26. the hall of the Medical Society of the univerſity of Edinburgh [xxxvii. 221. 416.] was opened: on which occaſion an elegant oration was delivered by Mr Robert Freer, their ſenior annual preſident; preſent the profeſſors of medicine, ſeveral of the other profeſſors in the univerſity, and of the phyſicians and ſurgeons in the city, and many other gentlemen who were contributors to the fund. The hall is thirty feet long and twenty feet broad; and there are two rooms beſides in the building, one for a library, the other for chymical and philoſophical experiments.

A carouſal was held at the riding-ſchool, Edinburgh, May 18. at which a numerous and genteel company were preſent. The gentlemen performed their exerciſes with grace and dexterity. A gold medal, with a ſuitable device and motto, given by Mr Angelo, maſter of the academy, was, by the Counteſs of Selkirk, preſented, as the prize of ſucceſsful merit, to Robert Cay, Eſq; of Northumberland.

On Tueſday evening, May 22. was opened, and is continued twice or thrice a-week, at Kirkbraehead, near the Weſt church, Edinburgh, Ranelagh garden, a new kind of entertainment, prepared by Signior Corri, conſiſting of muſical entertainments, tranſparent machinery illuminated with upwards of 400 lamps of various kinds, jets-d'-eau, a caſcade, fire-works, and a ball-room illuminated with ſpermaceti candles; the tickets to ladies 1s. and to gentlemen 2s. each; for which every perſon in the garden is admitted into the ball-room, but thoſe who chuſe to dance pay 1s. additional; an annual ticket, for which two ladies or one gentleman have admiſſion, coſts a guinea: tea, coffee, jelly, ice-creams, fruits, confections, wines, negus, &c. &c. are to be had if called for. On ſome occaſions there are grand exhibitions of fire-works, and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic.

The high court of juſticiary appointed the Lords Juſtice-Clerk and Kennet to go the northern circuit laſt ſpring, the Lords Auchinleck and Kames the ſouthern, and the Lords Pitfour and Coalſton the weſtern; the courts to ſit down, at Aberdeen, May 8. Inverneſs, May 17. and Perth, May 25.; at Inverary, May 10. Glaſgow, May 17. and Stirling, May 25.; and at Air, May 10. Dumfries, May 17. and Jedburgh, May 24. But the Lords Coalſton and Pitfour reſigned their offices as Lords Commiſſioners of Juſticiary; and were ſucceeded, the former by Lord Hailes, and the latter by Lord Gardenſton; who were received by the court May 3. and appointed to go the circuit in the room of the Lords Coalſton and Pitfour.

At Glaſgow, the Lords Hailes and Gardenſton judges, John Robertſon, who rode the Glaſgow mail, was found guilty of ſtealing, out of the poſt-office at Glaſgow, a letter or packet containing 72 l. in bank-notes; and was ſentenced to be hanged, at Glaſgow, on the 24th of July. He is however pardoned, on condition of tranſportation to the Weſt Indies for life, his ſervice adjudged for ſeven years.

At Perth, the Lord Juſtice-Clerk judge, John Fiſher (alias Anderſon) from Alloa, was found guilty of ſhop-breaking at Crieff, and ſentenced to be hanged, at Perth, on the 12th of July.——P. S. He was executed accordingly.

The preſbytery of Edinburgh, March 27. reſumed the conſideration of Mr Stuart's demiſſion of his charge of Cramond [108.]. Mr Stuart declared, that having converſed with the committee, he could find no good reaſon for altering his former opinion, and therefore adhered to his demiſſion. The preſbytery delayed accepting the demiſſion till their next meeting; when the affair was again delayed. On the 17th of May Mr Stuart declared before the preſbytery, that, notwithſtanding the kind offices of thoſe gentlemen who had been appointed to converſe with him, and his own endeavours to remove his ſcruples, his ſentiments continued unaltered. Several members expreſſed their regret for the loſs of ſo worthy a co-preſbyter: but as there was no help for it, the demiſſion was unanimouſly accepted.—— Mr Stuart has ſince preached to a congregation in Mary's chapel, Edinburgh.

A cement or mortar, from materials found in this country, which hardens although under water, equal to the Puzalana from Naples, or the Tarras from Collen in Flanders, is diſcovered by Thomas Smart of Dundee.

MARRIAGES.

June 12. At London, Lord Maynard, to Miſs Horton.

25. At Kenſington, Robert Travis, Eſq; brother-in-law to the Ducheſs of Argyle, to Miſs Frances Compton.

BIRTHS.

May 13. At the Four Croſſes, Denbighſhire, Ellin Ellis, who is 72 years of age, and has been married 46 years. She has had twelve children by the ſame father; the eldeſt is 45, and the youngeſt before the laſt, 25 years of age. The laſt was ſtill-born, owing, as it is imagined, to the mother's being frightened by a brute of a fellow telling her, a fortnight ago, if ſhe was with child it muſt be by the devil. This is ſo remarkable an event, that you may be ſure her pregnancy was much called in queſtion. Both ſhe and her huſband look very infirm. All this is fact, not a hearſay-ſtory. *Gore's Liverpool Advertiſer.*

June 8. At London, the lady of Lord Algernon Percy, of a daughter. [xxxvii. 342.]

8. At Kello, the lady of George Buchan, Eſq; of Kello, of a daughter.

25. At London, the lady of Lord Digby, of a ſon.

30. At London, the lady of Commodore Charles Douglas, of a ſon.

DEATHS.

At Halifax, Captain Gray, of the 55th regiment.

At Langres, in Champagne, aged 106 years and ſome months, a ſoldier, named *Du Mets.*

A goldſmith, a native of Gemoſac in Saintonge, in France, aged 140 years. He took a wife at 79, by whom he had three children, all now alive.

May 27. At Nancy in Lorrain, Mrs Marion Maxwell, widow of John Menzies of Pitfoddles, Eſq;

29. Nicholas Price, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor of Kinſale. A letter from Dublin gives the following account of his death. —As the Governor was walking along Dame-ſtreet, Dublin, he ſtruck a man that met him a blow or two with his cane, who, he ſaid, joſtled him againſt the wall. The man, whether he knew him or not, never returned the blow, but contented himſelf with taking away the cane with which he had been ſtruck, and the Governor immediately fell againſt the wall, and died. Several ſurgeons were ſent for, who attempted to bleed him; but all to no purpoſe. It is preſumed he burſt a blood-veſſel in his paſſion.

June 1. At Muſſelburgh, Mrs Lilias Murray, widow of William Buchanan, Eſq; of Drumakill.

2. At Edinburgh, on his return from London, Mr Robert Fowlis, printer to the univerſity of Glaſgow.

2. At Edinburgh, Robert Pringle, Eſq; of Louchton.

2. At his ſeat of Gordonſtown, in Morayſhire, in the 40th year of his age, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonſtown, firſt Knight of the order of Nova Scotia [xxxvii. 676.]. Succeeded by his only ſurviving brother, William.

5. Martin White, Eſq; of Milton, late major in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice. He was unfortunately drowned, bathing in the river Clyde, near his own houſe, about three miles above Hamilton.

5. At Luſſneſs, Mrs Graham, widow of Mr James Graham of Damſide.

7. At her apartments in Kenſington palace, of a decline, Lady Charlotte Burgoyne, wife of Gen. Burgoyne. Her Ladyſhip was dangerouſly ill when the General left London.

7. At Milliken, James Milliken of Milliken, Eſq;

8. At Edinburgh, Mrs Katharine Kinloch, wife of Mr James Farquhar, merchant in that city.

10. At Newington, aged 100 years and two months, Mr Lathwaite, formerly a diſſenting miniſter.

13. At Edinburgh, Mr James Syme of Northfield, king's ſlater.

13. At St Andrew's, Mr William Somerville of Myrecairny, Advocate.

14. At London, in the 64th year of his age, Samuel Lord Maſham, Baron of Oates, in the county of Eſſex, Remembrancer of the court of Exchequer, and one of the Lords of the Bedchamber. His Lordſhip dying without iſſue, the title is extinct.

14. In Greenwich hoſpital, Thomas Allen, a penſioner, in the hundredth year of his age.

17. At Saltcoats, Eaſt Lothian, Mrs Margaret Menzies, widow of the Hon. William Carmichael of Skirling, Eſq;

20. At London, Lady Frances Erſkine, wife of James Erſkine, Eſq; of Grange, her couſin german, and male repreſentative of the family of Mar. This lady was daughter of John Earl of Mar, (who was commander in chief of the rebel-army in 1715, and whoſe honours and eſtate became forfeited, but the eſtate was purchaſed for behoof of the family), by his ſecond wife, Lady Frances Pierpont, daughter of Evelyn Duke of Kingſton. Her father was the eighteenth Lord Erſkine, and the eleventh Earl of Mar.

22. At his ſeat at Pinner in Middleſex, the Hon. William Byron, only ſon of Lord Byron, and member for Morpeth.

23. At Weſtfield houſe, Lanerkſhire, Sir

Sir William Denholm of Weſtfhield, Bt.

27. At Contentibus, the Hon. Major Sandilands.

28. David Flint, Eſq; late ſecretary to the board of truſtees for encouraging manufactures, &c.

29. At Newtonhall, Richard Newton, of Newton, Eſq; ſon of Lord William Hay.

30. At Roſebank, near Glaſgow, John Murdoch, Eſq; merchant, and late provoſt of Glaſgow.

30. At Edinburgh, William Wilſon of Soonhope, Eſq; writer in Edinburgh.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London papers.

On the 28th of May, the Earl of Holderneſſe, Governor, and the Biſhop of Cheſter, Preceptor, to the Prince of Wales, and the Biſhop of Oſnabrug [xxxiii. 222.], reſigned their reſpective offices. Lord Bruce was immediately appointed Governor, and Dr Hurd, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, Preceptor; and on the 30th they took poſſeſſion of their reſpective apartments at Kew.

On Sunday night, June 2. Lord Bruce reſigned the office of Governor to the Prince of Wales and the Biſhop of Oſnabrug, and the Duke of Montagu was appointed Governor in his room.

From the London Gazette.

Thomas Bruce, Lord Bruce, was ſworn of the privy council, May 31. and took his place at the board.

The King has been pleaſed,

June 1. to appoint John Wyndham Boyer, David Papillon, George Lewis Scott, Thomas Bowlby, Anthony Lucas, William Lowndes, Eſqs, William Burrell, L L. D. and Stamp Brookſbank, Eſq; together with John Pownall, Eſq; to be Commiſſioners of Exciſe in England. [xxxvii 343.]

—to confer the honour of Knighthood on John Elliot, M. D.

(The Duke of Montagu was ſworn of the privy council, June 5. and took his place at the board.)

—8. to appoint George Duke of Montagu to be Governor; Richard Lord Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, Preceptor; Lt-Col. George Hotham, Sub-Governor; and the Rev. William Arnold, B. D. Sub-Preceptor, to the Prince of Wales, and Biſhop of Oſnabrug.

—to grant the dignity of an Earl of Great Britain unto Thomas Bruce, Lord Bruce, and his heirs-male, by the title of *Earl of Aylesbury* in the county of Buckingham.

—to grant the dignity of an Earl of Great Britain unto Thomas Lord Hyde, and his heirs-male, by Charlotte his preſent Lady, by the title of *Earl of Clarendon.*

—to grant the dignity of a Viſcount of Great Britain unto Robert Lord Trevor and his heirs-male, by the title of *Viſcount Hampden*, of Great and Little Hampden in the county of Buckingham.

—11. to appoint Chriſtopher D'Oyly, Eſq; to be Commiſſary-General and Chief Muſter-maſter of all his Majeſty's forces.

— to appoint Francis James Buchanan, Eſq; to be Lieutenant-Governor of Kinſale and Charles Fort in Ireland, in the room of Nicholas Price, Eſq; deceaſed.

Admiralty-office, June 25. His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint the following gentlemen to be officers of marines, viz.

Captain: Alexander Home, Eſq; of the 48th company.

Captain-Lieutenant: William Forte, Eſq; of the 4th.

Firſt-Lieutenants: Evan Evans, of the 36th; Robert Clugſtone, of the 44th; Richard Boorn, of the 42d; Thomas Strickland, of the 65th; Robert Winter, of the 52d; and Hugh Dawes, of the 4th.

Second-Lieutenants: John Croſwell, of the 26th; Alexander Grant, of the 5th; Samuel Orr, of the 11th; Charles Stuart Dallas, of the 40th; James Parſons, of the 50th; Thomas Hounſell, of the 8th; and Edward Katon, of the 23d.

"*Dublin Caſtle, June* 4. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was pleaſed, to confer the honour of Knighthood on Alexander Schomberg, Eſq; Captain of his Majeſty's yacht Dorſet, and Major Francis James Buchanan, Gentleman-Uſher of the Black Rod."

War-office, May 7. 1776. *continued.* [180.]

4th reg. of foot: Richard St George Manſergh St George, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Hay.

Ditto: Henry Gaſcoyne Schoen, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Forbes Champagne.

6th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Joſeph Duſſaux to be Captain, vice John Lambton.

Ditto: Lieut. George Peacocke to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Joſeph Duſſaux.

Ditto: Enſ. William Bray to be Lieutenant, vice George Peacocke.

Ditto: William Ogle, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Edward Davenport.

Ditto: John M'Pherſon, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William H. Mitford.

8th reg. of foot: Durell Saumarez, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Clowes.

Ditto: Joſeph Wilmott, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Daniel Mercer.

Ditto: George Hanbury Williams, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Fowke.

15th reg. of foot: Chapl. Robert Newburgh, of 18th, foot, to be Chaplain, vice Thomas Daliſton.

18th reg. of foot: Chapl. Thomas Daliſton, of 15th, foot, to be Chaplain, vice Robert Newburgh.

Ditto:

Ditto: John Whyte, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Thomas Lawe.

21ſt reg. of foot: Firſt-Lieut. George Brodie to be Captain, vice George Phyn.

Ditto: Second-Lieut. George Burnett to be Firſt-Lieutenant, vice George Brodie.

Ditto: George Turnbull, Gent. to be Second Lieutenant, vice Oſwald Campbell.

23d reg. of foot: William Ogle Wallis, Gent. to be Second-Lieutenant, vice John Blucke.

Ditto: George Allinſon, Gent. to be Second-Lieutenant, vice Charles Apthorpe.

31ſt reg. of foot: Richard Aſhley, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Francis Lord Napier.

34th reg. of foot: Morris Atkin, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Charles Blake.

51ſt reg. of foot: George Lord Viſcount Garnock to be Enſign, vice Sir Walter Montgomery Cuninghame.

Royal Americans, 2d batt.: Lieut. John Wakely, from halfpay, to be Lieutenant, vice John Worſley.

64th reg. of foot: George Lord Viſcount Deerhurſt to be Enſign, vice J. Hay.

Lieut. Duncan Robertſon, of the 49th reg. to be Lieutenant in Lt-Col. John Lind's independent company of invalids, vice Archibald Stuart.

Lt-Col. Sir William Erſkine to be Colonel in America only.

War-office, May 14.

71ſt regiment of foot, two battalions.

Colonel: Maj.-Gen. Simon Fraſer.

First battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel: Sir William Erſkine.

Majors: John M'Donell, of the 20th, foot; and Duncan M'Pherſon, of the 63d.

Captains: Lieut. Simon Fraſer, of late 78th; Lieut. Duncan Chiſholm, of 58th; Lieut. Colin Mackenzie, of 21ſt; Lieut. Francis Skelly, of 25th; Lieut. Hamilton Maxwell, of 58th; Lieut. John Campbell, of 7th, foot; and Normand MacLeod, Gent.

Captain-Lieutenant: Sir James Baird, Bt, of 17th, foot.

Lieutenants: Lieut. Charles Cameron, of the Royals; Sec. Lieut. Charles Campbell, of 21ſt; Enſ. John Nairne, of the late 89th; Enſ. William Nairne, of the late 89th; Enſ. Charles Gordon, from the Dutch ſervice; David Kinloch, Gent.; Thomas Tawſe, Gent.; William Sinclair, Gent.; Hugh Fraſer, Gent.; Alexander Fraſer, Gent.; John M'Donald, Gent.; Colin Mackenzie, Gent.; Alexander Fraſer, Gent; Thomas Fraſer, Gent.; Dougald Campbell, Gent.; Archibald Campbell, Gent.; Robert M'Donald, Gent.; Rory M'Leod, Gent.; John Roſs, Gent.; Patrick Cumming, Gent.; and Thomas Hamilton, Gent.

Enſigns: Archibald Campbell, Gent.; Henry M'Pherſon, Gent.; John Grant, Gent.; Robert Campbell, Gent.; Allan Malcolm, Gent.; —— Murchieſon, Gent.; Angus M'Donell, Gent.; and Peter Fraſer, Gent.

Chaplain: Hugh Blair, Clerk.

Adjutant: Donald Cameron, Gent.

Quartermaſter: David Campbell, Gent.

Surgeon: Dr William Fraſer.

Second batallion.

Lieutenant-Colonel: Archibald Campbell.

Majors: Normand Lamont, of the 15th, foot; and Capt. Robert Menzies, of the 19th, foot.

Captains: Lieut. Angus Mackintoſh, of late 87th; Lieut. Patrick Campbell, of late 103d; Lieut. Charles Cameron, of 30th; Lieut. Andrew Laurie, of 14th, foot; Lieut. Æneas Mackintoſh, of 19th, foot; Lieut. George Munro, of 70th; Lieut. Boyd Porterfield, of 22d; Corn. Lawrence Robert Campbell, of the 2d reg. of dragoons.

Lieutenants: Lieut. Robert Hutchiſon, of late 83d; Enſ. Alexander Sutherland, of late 104th; Enſ. Archibald Campbell, of 67th; Enſ. Hugh Lamont, of the Royals; Sec. Lieut. Robert Duncanſon, of the marines; Enſ. George Stewart, from the Dutch ſervice; Charles Barrington Mackenzie, Gent.; James Chryſtie, Gent.; James Fraſer, Gent.; Thomas Fraſer, Gent.; Archibald Balneavis, Gent.; Dougald Campbell, Gent.; Ludovick Colquhoun, Gent; John Mackenzie, Gent.; Hugh Campbell, Gent.; John Campbell, Gent.; Arthur Forbes, Gent.; Patrick Campbell, Gent.; Archibald M'Lean, Gent.; David Roſs, Gent.; Robert Grant, Gent.; Thomas Fraſer, Gent.

Enſigns: William Gordon, Gent.; Charles Mair, Gent.; Archibald Campbell, Gent.; Smollet Campbell, Gent; Donald Cameron, Gent.; Gilbert Waugh, Gent.; William Bain, Gent.; John Grant, Gent.

Chaplain: Malcolm Nicholſon, Clerk.

Adjutant: Lieut. Archibald Campbell.

Quartermaſter: William Ogilvy, Gent.

Surgeon: Surgeon Colin Chiſholm.

War-office, May 21.

1ſt reg. of dragoons: Capt. Philip Goldſworthy is appointed to be Major, vice Wiltſhire Wilſon.

Ditto: Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Garth to be Captain, vice Philip Goldſworthy.

Ditto: Lieut. James Wilkie to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Thomas Garth.

Ditto: Corn. William Spencer to be Lieutenant, vice James Wilkie.

1ſt reg. of foot-guards: Corn. James D'Auvergne, of the 1ſt troop of horſe-guards, to be Enſign, vice Charles Whitworth.

Royals, 1ſt batt.: Thomas Fraſer, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Hugh Lamont.

Ditto:

Ditto: James M'Gregor, Gent. to be Enſign, vice David Anſtruther.

Royals, 2d batt.: Enſ. Duncan Campbell to be Lieutenant, vice Charles Cameron.

Ditto: Alexander Campbell, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Duncan Campbell.

Ditto: Enſ James Menzies to be Lieutenant, vice James Stewart.

Ditto: Charles Craufurd, Gent. to be Enſign, vice James Menzies.

Ditto: John Johnſon, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Duncan Campbell, ſen

Ditto: Fielder King, Gent. to be Enſign, vice James Graham.

5th reg of foot: Boyce Combe, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Strickland.

6th reg. of foot: Edward Barlow, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Bray.

7th reg. of foot: —— Marquis of Lindſay to be Lieutenant, vice John Campbell.

Ditto: Enſ. Charles Helyar, of 32d reg. to be Lieutenant, vice Stephen Harvey.

9th reg of foot: Capt.-Lieut. George Swettenham to be Captain.

Ditto: Lieut. Alexander Fraſer to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice George Swettenham.

10th reg. of foot: Richard Hankey, Gent. to be Enſign, vice George Montgomery Metham.

Ditto: Enſ. Thomas Murray to be Lieutenant, vice John Arnold.

Ditto: John Blair, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Thomas Murray.

12th reg. of foot: Enſ. Thomas Picton to be Quartermaſter, vice John Cleve Pleydell.

15th reg of foot: Capt.-Lieut. John Lockhart to be Captain, vice Normand Lamont.

17th reg. of foot: Enſ. James O'Brien to be Lieutenant, vice Boyd Porterfield.

Ditto: John Cox, Gent. to be Enſign, vice James O'Brien.

21ſt reg. of foot: Second-Lieut. Kenneth Mackenzie to be Firſt Lieutenant, vice Colin Mackenzie.

Ditto: Enſ. —— Dalgleiſh, from the Dutch ſervice, to be Second-Lieutenant, vice Kenneth Mackenzie.

Ditto: Alexander Robertſon, Gent. to be Second-Lieutenant, vice Charles Campbell.

25th reg of foot: Enſ. John Miller to be Lieutenant, vice Francis Skelly.

Ditto: —— Boiſdaune, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Miller.

Ditto: Enſ. Richard Roſe to be Lieutenant, vice Thomas Goldie.

34th reg. of foot: Enſ. Berkeley Thompſon to be Lieutenant, vice William Howe.

Ditto: Joſeph Sawkins, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Berkeley Thompſon.

56th reg. of foot: Enſ Meredith Chambre to be Lieutenant, vice John Hardy.

Ditto: Samuel Wood, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Meredith Chambre.

58th reg. of foot: Enſ. —— Williamſon to be Lieutenant, vice Duncan Chiſholm.

Ditto: Enſ Cæſar Moriſon, from half-pay, to be Enſign, vice —— Williamſon.

Ditto: Enſ. Arthur Wetham to be Lieutenant, vice Hamilton Maxwell.

Ditto: Robert Douglas, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Arthur Wetham.

59th reg. of foot: Lieut. Walter Haynes to be Captain, vice George Gray.

Ditto: Enſ. George Cumine to be Lieutenant, vice Walter Haynes.

Ditto: Joſeph Wheeler, Gent. to be Enſign, vice George Cumine.

61ſt reg. of foot: Enſ. John Barlow to be Quartermaſter, vice Benjamin Stuart.

70th reg of foot: Enſ John Hacluit Smith to be Lieutenant, vice George Munro.

Ditto: Thomas Swymmer, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Hacluit Smith.

Maj. Charles Valiancey, of the engineers in Ireland, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the army.

War office, June 11.

1ſt troop of horſe-guards: Thomas Lloyd, Gent. is appointed to be Sub Brigadier and Cornet, vice James D'Auvergne.

Royal reg. of horſe-guards: Capt-Lieut. Guſtavus Belford to be Captain, vice Chriſtopher Clitherow.

Ditto: Lieut. Joſeph Darby to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Guſtavus Belford.

Ditto: Corn. Anthony Hodges to be Lieutenant, vice Joſeph Darby.

Ditto: William Hoſte, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Anthony Hodges.

3d reg of dragoon-guards: Henry Marſhall, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Thomas Cooper Everitt.

7th reg. of dragoons: Lieut. John William Egerton to be Captain, vice Alexander Hay.

Ditto: Corn. Ingram Ball to be Lieutenant, vice John William Egerton.

10th reg. of dragoons: Francis Gregory, Gent. to be Cornet, vice William Sotheby.

17th reg. of light dragoons: Capt. Richard Crewe to be Major, vice Harry Biſhopp.

1ſt reg. of foot guards: Leveſon Vernon, Gent. to be Enſign, vice —— Finch.

2d reg. of foot: Francis Aiſkell, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Cæcilius Newport.

13th reg. of foot: Enſ. William Hepburn, of 51ſt reg. to be Lieutenant, vice Thomas Hobbs.

20th reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Bolton Power to be Captain, vice John M'Donell.

Ditto: Lieut. William Farquhar, of 56th reg. to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Bolton Power.

22d reg of foot: James Bulkeley, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Napier Chriſtie.

25th reg. of foot: George Parkhurſt, Gent.

Gent to be Enſign, vice Richard Roſe.

28th reg. of foot: Maurice Greene Feſting, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Stewart. [*To be continued.*]

Alterations in the Houſe of Commons ſince our liſt was publiſhed [xxxvii. 202. and Corrections prefixed to Jan. Mag.].

By a correſpondent, dated, Edinburgh, June 11.

Sir Joſeph Mawbey, for Surry,
Edward Elliot, for Cornwall,
Wm Laurence, for Rippon,
Sir John Sebright, for Bath,
Sir R. Murray Keith, K. B. for Peeblesſhire,
Wm Harvey, for Eſſex,
Hon. Lewis T. Watſon, for Heydon,
Ja. Townthend Oſwald, for Fife,
Winchcomb H. Hartley, for Berkſhire,
Conſt. Lord Mulgrave, for Huntingdon,
James Martin, for Tewkeſbury,
Thos W. Coke, for Norfolk,—
—in the room of Sir Fr. Vincent, Sir J. Moleſworth, Ch. Allanſon, John Smith, Adam Hay, John Conyers, Sir Ch. Saunders, John Scot, Chr. Griffith, Hon. W. A. Montague, Joſ. Martin, and Winman Coke, all dead.
Walter Stanhope, for Carliſle,
Tho. Graves, for Eaſt Looe,
John Rogers, for Weſt Looe,
John Pownal, for St Germains,
Hon. Ja. Luttrell, for Stockbridge,
Ed. Maux Worſley, Newton, Hants,—
—in the room of Fletcher Norton, W. Graves, C. Ogilvie, Ed. Elliot, Hon. John Luttrell, Sir J. Barrington, who vacated their ſeats by accepting the office of Stewards of the chiltern hundreds.
Adam Hay (ſince dead), for Peeblesſhire,—Ja. Montgomery made Lord Chief Baron.
Rt Hon Ch. Jenkinſon, for Haſtings,
Ld Geo. S Germaine. Eaſt Grinſted,
Hon. John St John, for Eye,
Wm Eden, for Woodſtock,
Chr. D'Oyley, for Wareham,—
—re-elected on accepting the places of Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Surveyor of the Woods, &c. a Lord of Trade, and Secretary to the board of Trade.
Hon Fred. Stuart, for Air, Irvine, &c.—Sir Geo. Macartney made Governor of the Grenades.
John Peachy, for St Germains,—J. Pownal made a Commiſſioner of Exciſe.
Nath. Webb and O. S. Brereton, for Ilcheſter,
D. Parker Coke, for Derby,
John Dewar, for Cricklade,—
—in the room of P. Cuſt & W. Innes, John Gilborne, and Sam. Peach, whoſe elections were declared void.
Hon. W. H Bouverie, for Saliſbury,
Hon. Tho. Stanley, for Lancaſhire,
W. Broomley Cheſter, for Glouceſterſhire,
Hon. Ch. Stuart, for Boſſiney,
Maurice Suckling, for Portſmouth,
John Wilmot, for Tiverton,
Peregrine Cuſt, for Grantham,
Rt Hon. Tho Harley, for Herefordſhire,—
—in the room of the Earls of Radnor and Derby, Lords Clifford, Cardiff, Hawke, Harrowby, Brownlow, and Foley.

On the 12th of June the degree of Doctor in Medicine was conferred by the univerſity of Edinburgh on eight young gentlemen, ſtudents in the univerſity, after the uſual private and public trials. The titles of their theſes are annexed to their names reſpectively. [xxxvii. 528.]

From America.

Ezekiel John Dorſey, *De nutritione.*
Dennys Dorſey, *De chloroſi.*
John Carſon, *De cantharidum operatione et uſu.*

From Jamaica.

Thomas Neufville, *De pneumoniâ et ſedis ejus hiſtoria.*

From St Chriſtophers.

Lewis Brotherſon, *De utero, et inflammatione ejuſdem.*

From England.

Thomas Bowdler, *De febrium intermittentium natura et indole.*

From Ireland.

Samuel Martin Stephenſon, *De typho.*
John Johnſtone, *De phlegmaſiis, vel inflammatione.*

Prices of grain at Haddington, July 12. 1776.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	19s. 0d.	18s. 0d.	17s. 3d.
Bear,	15s. 0d.	14s. 2d.	13s. 9d.
Oats,	15s. 0d.	14s. 2d.	13s. 9d.
Peaſe,	14s. 0d.	12s. 6d.	11s. 8d.

Edinburgh, July 23 1776. Oat-meal, 10 d. 2 f. Bear-meal, 6 d. 2 f. Peaſe-meal, 6 d. 2 f.

The Edinburgh bill of burials for June 1776.

Within the city { Males 23, Fem. 31 } 54
In the Weſt-kirk-yard { Males 13, Fem. 12 } 25
} 79. Decr. 1.

Ages.	N°	Diſeases.	N°
Under 2	26	Aged	12
Between 2 & 5	11	Aſthma	3
5 & 10	4	Bowelhive	3
10 & 20	3	Childbed	2
20 & 30	4	Chincough	5
30 & 40	6	Conſumption	15
40 & 50	7	Fever	10
50 & 60	3	Meaſles	6
60 & 70	4	Palſy	1
70 & 80	5	Small pox	9
80 & 90	4	Suddenly	1
90 & 100	1	Stillborn	4
100 & 101	1	Teething	6
		Weakneſs	2